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Ponomarev on 'Questions of Defense Building'

PM1007175588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[Observer M. Ponomarev article under the rubric "International Observer Replies to Reader": "We Do Not Forget the Threat to Peace"; first two paragraphs are KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] V. Korzinkin sent the editors the following letter:

"Obviously like all Soviet people, I perceived with a sense of great satisfaction that part of M.S. Gorbachev's report at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference which states that the threat of war has been forced to retreat over the past 3 years. That is a great achievement. But this is what creates alarm: It is now possible to encounter in a number of articles the claim that for our country the threat of war in general is an obsolete concept. But is this so in actual fact? Is that not going a bit too far?"

Your alarm is perfectly understandable, Esteemed Viktor Sergeyevich. For if you proceed from the premise, which—not for nothing—struck you as doubtful, that for our country the threat of war is an obsolete concept, then the conclusion follows that there are no grounds to be concerned about defense. Since there is no threat, why engage in defense building and seek to enhance its efficiency?

If only everything were really so simple! Yes, we remember Lenin's words that socialism's ideal is a world without weapons. Yes, we, our Communist Party and the Soviet state, are struggling persistently and consistently for a nonviolent world, for a world without weapons or wars. This is our goal, and the first steps have been taken on the way to this goal. The age of nuclear disarmament has already begun: It began on that historic day when, following the exchange of ratification instruments, the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles came into force.

The great political scale of the Moscow summit meeting is increasingly obvious. It made definite progress toward elaborating an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms under conditions of compliance with the ABM Treaty. It brought us closer to a convention banning chemical weapons. It took a step toward the limitation and subsequent cessation of nuclear tests. Important additional confidence-building measures in the military sphere were agreed upon, and the principles of all-embracing verification and monitoring were confirmed and developed. A contribution was made to the practical formulation of the question of reducing troops and conventional arms in Europe. Finally, the Moscow meeting marked a new development of conceptual views on the nature of disarmament in general.

All this together with the withdrawal from Afghanistan of the Soviet troops who fulfilled their international duty with honor and dignity and together with the fact that in recent years the Soviet Union has improved or for the first time established relations with a large number of states and has spoiled them with no one weightily confirms the conclusion drawn at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference that the threat of war has been forced to retreat over the years of restructuring.

Retreat but, unfortunately, not yet disappear. Imperialist militarism still poses a threat to peace. The positive processes in the international arena are obvious, and everyone feels their beneficial influence. But guarantees of the irreversibility of these processes have not yet taken shape. The imperialist powers and their military-political alliances are not slackening the pace of militarist preparations. Conflagrations of regional conflicts are continuing to rage, threatening to drag more and more states and peoples into their orbit. The new political thinking still remains a closed book for many, if not to say most, leading politicians and, particularly, military figures in Western countries.

I will venture to cite two or three examples here, Viktor Sergeyevich, although they may already be known to many people. These examples are very important for characterizing the frame of mind of those who determine Western countries' policies and for answering the question of whether there is still a threat of war in relation to our country and the world as a whole or whether it has already passed into the realm of legend, as some people maintain.

Thus, U.S. Vice President G. Bush, presidential condidate for the next term, declared without a shadow of doubt in a speech in San Francisco: "We must remember that the 'cold war' is not over." Moreover, he claimed that the United States should "be ready for a protracted conflict" with the USSR. Or again. On 30 June, on the eve of taking up the responsible post of NATO secretary general and at a time when all the world's sober-minded people were following the work of the all-union party conference in Moscow, M. Woerner ventured to demand that "not only West European countries but also all allied countries make still greater efforts in the defense sphere."

Were these accidental slips of the tongue? No, they are the concentrated expression of the will and interests of very influential, militarist, reactionary circles of the United States and other NATO states. They do not only make speeches and give interviews—that would not be so terrible. They act in the same spirit as they speak.

Here are two or three more facts: The U.S. delegation wrecked the adoption of the already agreed final document of the Third UN General Assembly special session on disarmament. Influential circles in Washington still regard the USSR as a target for the U.S. strategic nuclear forces: 5,000 installations on the Soviet Union's territory have been selected as targets for nuclear strikes. For the sake of making such strikes, work is continuing on

equipping those forces with new MX ICBM's and Trident II SLBM's. For this sake, 100 B-1B strategic bombers have been commissioned, and production of a further 132 most sophisticated B-2 bombers, being built under the Stealth program, has been developed. Nonnuclear arms are also being built up in the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force, and approximately 1,500 military bases and other Pentagon installations tightly ringing the perimeter of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are still maintained in a state of combat readiness.

The dangerous lengths for the cause of peace to which militarist fever can go are shown by the tragedy in the Persian Gulf region, where a U.S. cruiser destroyed an Iranian civilian airliner with two missiles. That act of piracy was a direct consequence of Washington's policy in the Persian Gulf, its scorn for the norms of international law, and its reliance on force.

All this attests that the danger of war persists. We are seeking and finding more and more opportunities to counter the policy of force on a wider political basis than before. But, as we all know from the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference documents, Viktor Sergeyevich, the party is not relaxing its attention toward questions of defense building. It must henceforth be provided chiefly with qualitative parameters—with regard to both hardware and military science and to the composition of the Armed Forces. It must guarantee the reliable security of the Soviet state and its allies.

Soviet defensive doctrine and the principle of sufficiency for defense on which it is based—for defense under conditions when the danger of war is, unfortunately, not yet an obsolete concept but a perfectly real one—are subordinated to just this task.

CW Chief Deplores UK Approach to Exchange

PM0807103388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Undated letter from Hero of the Soviet Union Colonel General V. Pikalov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Defense Chemical Troops: "Two Approaches. On the British Delegation's Visit"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] PRAVDA has already announced that during the period 29 June through 4 July a British delegation was in the Soviet Union to familiarize itself with the Soviet military facility at Shikhany.

In connection with the British delegation's claims regarding the program for its stay at the Shikhany facility made at the 4 July news conference in Moscow, the editorial office has received the following letter from the USSR Ministry of Defense.

This was a return visit by the group of British specialists. This May a Soviet delegation was familiarized with Britain's chemical warfare defense center at Porton Down.

The mutual exchange of delegations to military-chemical facilities was coordinated in the course of the Soviet-British consultations within the framework of the talks on the banning of chemical weapons. The main idea and dimension of these measures consisted in confidence-building and in promoting the speediest elaboration of a convention on a chemical weapons ban.

We prepared the program for the British delegation's stay in the Soviet Union precisely so that the exchange of visits should make a real contribution to the chemical disarmament process. That is why the program also made provision above all for those questions which are of interest from the viewpoint of the convention now being elaborated, such as the destruction of chemical weapons, verification of compliance with the ban on chemical weapons, the physical-chemical and medical-biological methods for such verification, and so on.

The British delegation of 13 people included an ambassador (the head of the delegation at the disarmament conference), the director of the Porton Down facility, his leading staffers, and also representatives of the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Defense.

The British delegation was received on 30 June by Army General V.M. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister, and V.F. Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister. On the same day, the delegation visited the chemical troops' training area in the Moscow district, where it was familiarized with the system for training chemical defense troops junior commanders.

It must be pointed out that on the first day of the delegation's stay in the USSR, two quite different approaches to the exchange of visits emerged. Whereas the Soviet delegation which had gone to Britain familiarized itself with the program and made no attempt to make any changes or adjustments, this cannot be said of the British delegation. The leadership of the British delegation issued practically an ultimatum demanding the right to visit another facility apart from Shikhany, also located in Saratov Oblast. The Soviet side explained that the aforementioned site does not form part of the chemical troops or part of the USSR Ministry of Defense as a whole, but rather comes under the jurisdiction of an industrial ministry. However, it proved impossible to convince our guests of this and, despite the fact that the delegation was given a complete and comprehensive viewing of the Shikhany military facility, at the news conference on the results of the visit, held on 4 July at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center, the British delegation marked down our refusal to authorize a visit to this industrial enterprise as "inadequate openness" [otkrytost].

The British delegation was at the Shikhany military facility from 30 June through 3 July. In that time, it was given 19 reports on the history of chemical weapons,

military chemistry, toxicology, detection and identification, and the problems of destroying chemical weapons, including explanations on questions of protecting personnel and the environment when destroying the weapons or eliminating the consequences of possible accidents at facilities destroying chemical weapons stocks. The reports were accompanied by a demonstration of the relevant samples which could be used when fulfilling the terms of the future convention. Exhaustive answers were given to all the questions that occurred to the British representatives. And there were more than 300 such questions.

The British delegation flew round the entire territory of the Shikhany military facility in helicopters and chose 10 points for additional visits and familiarization. The helicopters made two passes and covered 142 km (twice the perimeter of the site) at a height of 200m. However, despite this, the British delegation nevertheless claimed unobjectively at the Moscow news conference that the helicopters had allegedly not flown over some part of the range. British delegation representatives visited all 10 places that they had chosen (by way of comparison—the Soviet delegation only chose one point to visit after its flight over Porton Down), including the range command post, several laboratory buildings, firing ranges, and even...the boiler house.

However, I must say bluntly that there was no mention of the problems impeding the speediest conclusion of a convention on a chemical weapons ban. The British delegation was completely engrossed in gathering informational data. The British representatives did their utmost to evade discussion of the problems facing them at the talks.

On leaving Shikhany, 32 minutes before takeoff, the British delegation asked to be familiarized with yet another—11th—point on the site. This request was granted.

By and large, it must be noted that the British delegation's visit to the Shikhany military facility was strict in character, as if it were an on-site inspection [proverka] on demand rather than an act of goodwill on our part.

One more element. Evidently, there are forces in the West which are interested in compromising our openness and casting doubts on the sincerity of the USSR's intentions in the sphere of eliminating chemical arms.

It is appropriate to mention here that the Soviet Union unilaterally stopped production of chemical weapons, has begun the construction of a specialized enterprise to destroy stocks of such weapons, was the first to declare how many such weapons it possessed, (which no other country, notably the United States, has yet done), stated that all Soviet chemical weapons are on the USSR's territory and have never been handed to anyone, showed participants in the Geneva talks a depot storing sample chemical munitions, and has submitted a whole series of constructive proposals at the talks being held within the framework of the disarmament conference aimed at achieving accords most speedily.

That is why doubts about our adherence to the cause of total universal chemical disarmament are at the very least not borne out by facts and aim to justify the militarist course of the United States and its NATO allies of escalating the chemical arms race.

We view the process of confidence-building and cooperation among the states taking part in the talks as one of the requisite conditions for the conclusion of an effective international convention on banning chemical weapons.

By and large, it must be noted that the Soviet-British exchange of visits to the Porton Down and Shikhany military-chemical facilities has made a definite contribution to the process of strengthening the atmosphere of trust, and we welcome it unconditionally.

However, to be honest, I have contradictory feelings: above all, because I expected great things and hoped that this exchange of visits would facilitate understanding of the problems which still need to be resolved.

I would not like such exchanges of visits only to serve as an excuse for asking countless questions with no direct bearing on the convention and thus dragging out and sidetracking the talks.

Perhaps it is advisable to make more extensive use of such forms of multilateral and bilateral cooperation as symposiums, seminars, and conferences on specific technical questions which crop up in the course of the work of the disarmament conference. Moreover, the main criterion when judging the usefulness of such measures should be their real contribution to effectively resolving problems on which there is still disagreement.

Commentator Views Disarmament Progress

LD0907202388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] As has already been reported, the U.S. Congress Budget Committee has published a report containing recommendations for further improvements in conventional armaments and increases in the strength of forces of NATO countries. Their implementation will cost the taxpayer dozens of billions of dollars. The authors of the report make copious references to experts who claim that the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has allegedly increased the vulnerability of NATO forces, whereas, statements by experts who reject this view are only mentioned. Such an approach to such a topical issue is puzzling, to say the least. Here is the opinion of our commentator, Vladimir Pasko.

[Pasko] Indeed, the accord on elimination of the Soviet and U.S. intermediate- and shorter-range missiles has highlighted the issue of cuts in the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe. The Soviet Union and its allies favor a comprehensive approach to the issue of disarmament, a situation in which elimination of mass destruction weapons is supported by significant cuts in armed forces and conventional armaments. The progress of nuclear disarmament, of 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive armaments, cannot be achieved if the issue of conventional armaments is not tackled. That is so owing to objective reasons.

Our intercontinental strategic missiles, for example, emerged in response to the U.S. siting of forward-based forces in Europe. In 1986 the Warsaw Pact countries offered to the NATO countries a program of cuts in armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals. Our concept of talks on the cuts amounts to detecting and eliminating imbalances, further reductions of the armed forces and armaments with the aim of achieving a lower-level balance, creation of reduced-level armament zones along the lines of contact of the two alliances, implementation of efficient monitoring of both reductions and the remaining forces.

However, those in NATO are in no hurry to resolve this issue. They believe that the elimination of the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles in Europe should be compensated with stepping up other armaments, including conventional armaments. The thesis launched as far back as in 1948 of the superiority of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact over NATO in conventional forces and armaments serves as the justification of such approach. However, the admissions which are made from time to time, such as the report of the West European Union last November, speeches by officials of the U.S. State Department during the Soviet-U.S. December summit meeting, point to the purely propaganda nature of that claim.

As stated in this connection last February by the authoritative French magazine MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, the overwhelming superiority of the USSR in this field is a myth. The Western headquarters never deluded themselves on that account. Its purpose is to make ordinary people concerned, and that game is persistently pursued.

We have long been proposing to NATO, with the aim of removing speculation, to exchange data on the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and to publish them. The West would not go for that, and one can see why. So long as opportunities for misinformation exist, new arms programs are easier to get through. This is exactly what takes place in the United States at the moment. Certain circles find it useful, but not everyone does so. FRG Foreign Minister Genscher's remarks in an interview to Hessen radio in April are an indication of that: It does not make sense if the Western side keeps complaining about the East's superiority while, at the same time, we fail to help achieve stability in the conventional sphere. Security is achieved not through arming, security can be consolidated through arms control and disarmament. The minister added that we should not stop at eliminating intermediate-range missiles.

Unfortunately, far from all in the Western capitals have achieved this level of understanding of that cardinal issue.

Defense Ministers Committee Issues Communique

PM0807153488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 Jul 88 First Edition p 5

["Communique of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee Session"]

[Text] A session of the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee took place in the USSR capital, Moscow, 5-8 July 1988.

Taking part in the session were: Army General D. Dzhurov, Bulgarian minister of national defense; Colonel General F. Karpati, Hungarian defense minister; Army General H. Kessler, GDR minister of national defense; Army General F. Siwicki, Polish minister of national defense; Colonel General V. Milea, Romanian minister of national defense; Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR defense minister; Army General M. Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense; Marshal of the Soviet Union V.G. Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces; and Army General A.I. Gribkov, chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces.

In addition, the session was attended by representatives of leadership personnel of the defense ministries of the Warsaw Pact states and the joint command of the Joint Armed Forces.

The session was chaired by the USSR defense minister.

The Defense Ministers Committee examined military-political aspects of the development of the situation in Europe after the Washington and Moscow summit meetings and the state of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces.

Unanimous approval was expressed at the session for the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the current talks on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, and compliance with the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972.

The participants in the session also approved the Soviet Union's initiative in withdrawing its OTR-22 [SS-12's] from the GDR and the CSSR with the consent of their governments, prior to the entry into force of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, as a token of goodwill in the general process of nuclear disarmament. They also approved the meetings of the USSR and U.S. defense ministers as an indication of further positive steps in Soviet-American relations. Great significance is also attached to the other peace initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states, aimed at strengthening confidence and lessening the danger of war.

Attention was drawn to the fact that in certain NATO circles plans are being drawn up for "compensating" for the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles that are being eliminated by means of the buildup and extensive modernization of other armaments, which could lead to the disruption of the newly begun process of ridding Europe of nuclear weapons.

The Defense Ministers Committee, taking into account the emerging military-political situation, defined the avenues for further improving the Joint Armed Forces in line with the defensive military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states, national military doctrines, and the concluding document of the Stockholm Conference. It stressed that this improvement will be carried out with a view to the necessary sufficiency of arms and armed forces at the lowest possible level, the further expansion of cooperation and combat collaboration between the fraternal armies, and the maintenance of a high level of combat readiness of the troops (forces) for the fulfillment of their duty of defending socialism.

Agreed decisions were adopted on the questions discussed.

The session took place in a businesslike spirit, in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. The next session will be held in Prague.

Kalikov on Meeting, 'Parity'

LD0807221388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1800 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] As has already been reported, the Warsaw Treaty defense ministers meeting has ended in Moscow. This is what Marshal of the Soviet Union Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states, had to say about its results in an interview with All-Union Radio.

[Begin recording] [Kulikov] The Warsaw Treaty defense ministers meeting took place immediately after the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which left a considerable imprint on the life of our society and changed attitudes toward the social processes that are now taking place: restructuring, the new political thinking, democratization, and glasnost. All phenomena associated with these concepts were reflected in the defense ministers meeting. Nowadays, with a struggle for peace and detente in progress, the efforts of everyone, including military personnel, are aimed at safeguarding the world and defending its security, not just by violent means, but also through the efforts of the new political thinking. Our task, as we see it, is to strengthen our defense capability, boost our operational and combat training, and carry out the decisions of the Political Consultative Committee.

Incidentally, we are on the threshold of the forthcoming session of the Political Consultative Committee, which will also consider matters connected with the struggle for peace and for easing the situation.

[Unidentified correspondent] In the defense doctrine, what path is indicated by Lenin concerning the combat training of the Warsaw Treaty armies and their regular daily activities?

[Kulikov] The defense doctrine has introduced considerable modifications regarding operational thinking and the accomplishment of all practical tasks. Basically, our soldiers work their way through defense topics, topics that are also in accord with the very name of military doctrine. We do realize, however, that it is impossible to defeat an enemy and destroy an aggressor through defensive actions alone. We are working out such active forms of action as offensive action, counterstrikes, and other kinds of combat action, which are in the context of the new defense doctrine.

[Correspondent] Viktor Georgiyevich, the current defense ministers committee session seems to have discussed parity with the West, including in the field of conventional weapons. Can you comment on the claims that the Warsaw Treaty has a substantial and decisive superiority in conventional weapons in Europe?

[Kulikov] At the 27th Congress and at the 19th CPSU Conference, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev made it quite clear that our greatest gain was that we had achieved strategic parity. As for the superiority of one side or the other in some kinds of weapons, there is no such superiority. We have a roughly equal balance in all kinds of weapons. There are certain asymmetries, which we are prepared to eliminate. [end recording]

PRAVDA Reports End of CEMA Session

PM1007173588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Toward the Development of Cooperation"]

[Text] Prague, 7 Jul—The development of cooperation and socialist economic integration and the deepening of the international socialist division of labor are becoming increasingly important factors in the political and economic life of CEMA countries and their socioeconomic development. This was the conclusion drawn by the participants in the 44th sitting of the CEMA session, which closed today in the Czechoslovak capital.

The session approved the collective concept for the international socialist division of labor for the period 1991-2005. This will be the basis for coordinating economic policy in the sphere of mutual cooperation and also for coordinating policy in other spheres of socioeconomic cooperation with interested countries.

Developing this document, a series of changes will be elaborated in production structure, investment policy, the division of production programs between CEMA countries, and in participation in resolving priority tasks regarding scientific and technical progress. This series of changes will at the same time constitute the basis for coordinating 5-year plans.

A protocol has been signed and a communique adopted on the results of the session; the latter will be published in the press.

It has been decided to hold the next sitting of the CEMA session in 1989 in Sofia.

L. Strougal delivered the closing remarks at the session. He pointed out that a number of important resolutions have been adopted at the 44th sitting of the CEMA session, expressing new approaches to shaping the international socialist division of labor and to restructuring the mechanism of cooperation and socialist economic integration, including new incentives for the gradual equalization of economic development levels within CEMA.

The session participants welcomed the establishment of official CEMA-EEC relations. The head of the CSSR Government stressed that this constitutes an important step in all-European cooperation and makes new demands on CEMA's activity, which must be viewed from the viewpoint of all-European and world development.

L. Strougal pointed out that concern was expressed in the course of the talks over the continuing deterioration of the economic position of developing states in the world. He expressed the unanimous opinion of the session's participants to support their efforts to establish a new economic order.

Under contemporary conditions, the speaker stated, there is a need for new approaches to the tasks and problems involved in the political, social, and economic development of cooperation, based on the resolutions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which will undoubtedly affect CEMA's activity.

G. Atanasov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, delivered a speech in reply.

With this the 44th sitting of the CEMA session completed its work.

Marking the end of the 44th sitting of the CEMA session, the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR president, and the CSSR Government organized a reception for delegations from CEMA countries, including the Soviet delegation headed by N.I. Ryzhkov.

The reception took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Comparison of Ryzhkov-Zemljaric Meeting

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 7 July 1988 carries in its Second Edition on page 4 a report on the meeting between Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, and Janez Zemljaric, deputy president of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia, at the 44th CEMA session meeting. The PRAVDA report, which appears under the headline "Official Announcements," has been compared with the Moscow TASS in English version published on page 19 of the 7 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, revealing the following variation:

Page 19, column two, paragraph three reads in PRAVDA: ...of building socialism.

Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, participated in the conversation, which took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and cordiality. (supplying paragraph)

'Repercussions' Program Discusses Foreign Policy

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["Repercussions" program hosted by Political Observer Boris Kalyagin, with TASS General Director Sergey Andreyevich Losev; Viktor Pavlovich Karpov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Directorate for Problems of Arms Limitation and Disarmament; and IZVESTIYA Political Observer Aleksandr Yevgenyevich Bovin—live]

[Excerpts] [Kalyagin] Hello, esteemed viewers. We meet again in our "Repercussions" studio in Ostankino to reply to the questions that concern you. We originally planned to spend today discussing problems connected with the continuation of the Soviet-U.S. summit-level dialogue. Even our GOVORIT I POKAZYVAYET MOSKVA published this. But life, as the saying goes, has made us adapt our plans. The 19th all-union party conference was a landmark not just in the life of our country; it also has great international significance. Its results are influencing world developments and our country's relations with the outside world. That is what we would like to talk about today. [passage omitted]

[Karpov] There were many different reactions to the party conference from both the right and left. But if you try to determine what line predominates, I think that it was the positive reactions. That is, the party conference has not been greeted merely with interest. It has been greeted as a positive new phenomenon in both the internal life of the Soviet Union and its foreign policy. As for the sphere closest to me, disarmament issues, I would say the following: It introduced an additional element of confidence to the Soviet Union's proposals. Whereas previously our radical proposals for the destruction of nuclear weapons and a sharp reduction in conventional arms were sometimes interpreted as propaganda moves, now a larger and larger number of people are beginning to see these proposals as serious and as a reflection of the real essence of our system, the new socialism that we intend to create.

[Bovin] My impressions are not just paper ones, but living ones, because I happened to talk quite a lot with the journalists who came over. You know, they were altogether in a state of perplexity. They, of course, did not expect any of what happened. They thought there might be something unexpected and new—there is no doubt about that. But what happened right before their eyes simply perplexed them, it simply stunned them. They were stunned by the intensity of the debate, the pluralism of opinions that really existed at the conference, and the arguments. Perhaps they reflected this less in their articles—that is, because of the rules of the game they play by—but in conversations it was something very noticeable. They were 4 days that shook not only the journalists, but also the world, if you like. That is from the angle of the psychological situation.

Now, as for the business at hand, among the articles that appeared in the West there is a current of opinion, which may not be very strong, but it exists. This view proclaims: What is all the euphoria about? Why are we applauding? Look, the monopoly position of the Communist Party and the leading role of Communists remain. No one is renouncing the slogans of socialism. Lenin lies at the basis of their outlook. So what is happening? What actually is happening is that the Soviet Union is being strengthened. If all this comes to pass, what is going to happen with this partner, whom we find rather awkward today, in 10 or 20 years? Let us approach what is happening from this point of view.

Well, all this is being written not by reckless anticommunists, but business-like people. So there is this caution, not a general human caution but a class caution, on this point. These may be just words, but they are reflected in politics. For instance, there is the problem of whether trade restrictions should be lifted or not, and whether contacts should be widened or not. It is connected with such a formulation of the question, and they are in no hurry on this, they are in no hurry. So this approach to our affairs also has to be considered.

[Kalygin] I would like to back you up there and cite an interesting example. A well-known British conservative newspaper, the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH, carried an article entitled "The Hidden Threat of Russian Democracy." The paper asserts that a democratic Soviet Union represents the greatest threat to the West, evidently because the image of our country will become much more attractive.

[Bovin] There was an interesting thing said in connection with the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity. They were saying that Gorbachev did not just want to bring democracy over to his side, but he was also returning to ancient Russian traditions. The cross was appearing alongside the red star, and this would strengthen the position of the Russians on the world scene even more. That is the interesting view that was expressed. [passage omitted]

[Kalyagin] One more question for you and all the others too. It is quite an interesting question, from Vladimir Karlovich Smitt from Riga. He says: The Mao Zedong cult and his cultural revolution caused the country—he means China—no less harm than the Stalin cult. Why do Chinese Communists adhere to another view of this in their country?

[Bovin] Well, for a start he should ask your Chinese friends. What view they adhere to is their business. But I must say that they generally have quite a critical attitude toward Mao Zedong. At their party forums, congresses, and plenums they have subjected the situation at the time of the Great Leap Forward, particularly the Cultural Revolution, to very, very severe criticism. A term—period of fascist-bureaucratic dictatorship—has even appeared in the party press in reference to the

Cultural Revolution. They really do have a different attitude toward Mao Zedong. Putting it simply, I would say the situation is this: We have Lenin and Stalin. We can denigrate Stalin, and we have done so; Lenin remains.

In their country, Mao Zedong is Lenin and Stalin in one person, if you like. So, while criticizing certain actions of Mao Zedong and his policies over a long period of time, at the same time they take into account his role in the Chinese revolution, starting in the twenties, and his positive contribution to this revolution. So he remains, and no doubt that is indeed the way things are. It is a question of historical truth. His actions at different stages are assessed differently, and that is no doubt the way it ought to be. That is what they are doing, I think. But I say again that at the end of the day it is their problem, and how can we impose our views on them?

I recall that quite recently there was an interview with Xia Yan, a very famous Chinese writer, who is about 90 now. He is a very famous writer. In an interview with a Chinese magazine, he said: We have not been able to criticize Mao Zedong in the way Stalin is currently criticized in Russia. But generally speaking, the Chinese have their own problems, their own understanding of their problems. It is their business. That is the main thing, I believe.

[Losev] I share the point of view that we have Lenin. But, in addition to that, I believe that the most important thing is not attitudes, but to take action to rectify what happened and to make it impossible for anything similar to be repeated. In what they are actually doing they have strayed very far from the practice, policy, and theory of Mao Zedong.

[Kalyagin] Sergey Andreyevich: Lyudmila Anatolyevna Klyuchnik, a lawyer from Moscow, asks whether incitement by the Western mass media is playing a role in the events in Nagorno-Karabakh. Do you have any knowledge of this?

[Losev] I would not emphasize this aspect, because it is my profound conviction that the main causes lie in the fact that for a long time the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh were ignored. It wasn't just stagnation that occurred, but a considerable lagging-behind in the region's socio-economic development as well. The inhabitants, the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis, are simply dissatisfied with the present situation. Also, national rights were frustrated, and this is what caused such a national explosion. Naturally, one could not regard as normal the kind of situation in which the leaders of two republics refused even to say hello to one one another, as was mentioned during one of the conference speeches.

Who were people supposed to look to for an example? And what relations, so to speak, what problems could be solved with that type of approach? Still, I wouldn't completely discard your question, because it would be wrong to do so. We know that our ideological foes are now banking mainly, so to speak, on whipping up national dissension in our country. Our friendship of the peoples is the main...it's not mere words, but really our main source of strength. They understand this and are doing all they can to smash it, exploiting the fissures which have arisen through our own imprudence and confidence that we had solved the national issues in our multinational country once and for all.

Coming back to the viewer's question, one can detect the following pattern, and I think my colleagues have also defined this pattern accordingly: Western correspondents run to well-known figures, more in Moscow even than in Yerevan, and often receive unauthentic reports from them about what is happening in, say Nagorno-Karabakh. This is then transformed and broadcast to the Soviet Union in a distorted form via various radio stations—as you know, we no longer jam radio broadcasts—thereby exerting a certain influence on the formation of public opinion. In addition, we should not forget that there are fairly influential Armenian colonies abroad and this type of pattern is also having a certain effect on their views. Overall, however, it is my profound conviction that the causes do not lie in this. We have to seek the causes here at home.

[Kalyagin] Viktor Pavlovich, here's a question for you. Yakov Moiseyevich Guryevich, a scientific worker from Moscow, is interested to know why the Vienna talks on reducing troops and arms in Europe are proceeding so slowly, or hardly progressing at all. What is the actual difference between our stance and that of the West?

[Karpov] If you are referring to the talks on reducing troops and arms in central Europe...

[Kalyagin] In central Europe, that's evidently what he is referring to.

[Karpov] ...Yes, the talks that have been going on since 1973. Well, from the very start those talks were doomed to fail, because the main method selected for conducting them was to argue about troop numbers in central Europe, and without on-site checks. This dragged out the debate for 13 years. In effect there was no progress; the sides were constantly marking time on their old stances with no desire and no opportunity to break the deadlock. But we think that we have now formulated the issue differently, that an exchange of data on NATO and Warsaw Pact troops and arms in Europe should be subjected to checks at the very beginning of the talks. There is a chance of achieving a new approach, an approach which will not lead to an impasse but will make it possible to check the initial data, establish how closely it corresponds to what has been stated, and embark on specific decisions to remove the assymetries and imbalances which actually exist between NATO and the Warsaw Pact armed forces in Europe. We can then move on to the deep cuts we are proposing—500,000 on the

NATO and Warsaw Pact sides—and continue that movement until the NATO and Warsaw Pact troops are no longer in a position to wage offensive operations. They will then become nothing more than a means of defense. We see this as the main task, the main aim, and our program for troops and arms reduction in Europe plots movement toward it.

[Bovin] That is, we want to jump over Vienna, if you like. Do I understand it correctly?

[Karpov] Yes, I think so: Over the problem that has been in Vienna since 1973, and to begin in a different way with a broader approach in an all-European context, while naturally devoting prime attention to the central European area, where the confrontation between the two military blocs is most concentrated. This is also where additional measures, parallel measures, are needed, along with troop and arms reductions on an all-European scale, in order to ease the tension along the dividing line between the two military alliances.

[Kalyagin] Aleksandr Yevgenyevich: During one of "Studio Nine's" itinerant sessions, you were constantly stating that you didn't believe in the possibility of reaching agreement with the present U.S. Administration. Is that the case?

[Bovin] Of course, and more than once. More than once.

[Kalyagin] Yes, well your statement continues to disturb many viewers. They have asked questions about this in the past, and now Medvedenko, a history teacher from Kirovograd, writes about it, asking the following question: What do you now think of your statement, and how do you see the further prospects for relations between our countries, given the results of the 19th party conference?

[Bovin] A senior colleague of mine always used to say to me: Sasha, you have to be more clever today than you were yesterday. I think he was right. Incidentally, I am reminded of an interesting episode that happened when I was in West Berlin. The association of accredited journalists there invited me to dinner, well, a sort of a dinner, at which I was to answer questions. The day before, a West Berlin newspaper published an article asking why Bovin was being given a dinner, saying that it was a waste of time since in any case he would only say the same as his government, which was of no interest. Anyway, the meeting began, and I asked if they had all read the article. They said yes they had, and I said that it was wrong because, as you know, my government never makes a mistake, whereas I quite often make mistakes. Therefore, my point of view by no means always coincides with that of my government. True, it now turns out that the government also makes mistakes, but I still do so much more frequently. I really did think that Reagan would be incapable of jumping over his anticommunism, over that evil empire, to reach an agreement. Admittedly, as our viewers and readers may recall, I added the rider that this was a rare case in which I very much wanted to be mistaken. Well, I was in luck: My wish came true, I was mistaken, Reagan came to Moscow, Gorbachev went to Washington, and everything was fine.

[Kalyagin] Before going on, I would like to point out to our viewers that some of you are phoning in questions connected with our country's domestic affairs. Our program is devoted to the foreign policy aspect of the 19th party conference and to international problems. As far as domestic issues are concerned there was yesterday's "Standpoint" program, and I think that over the next few days we shall put out a few more such live programs so that you can ask your questions.

Well, Andrey Korolev, a polytechnic student from Ulyanovsk, asks a question connected both with the domestic situation and international subjects. He says that the conference discussed the question of one-party and two-party systems. What's the view of the world press on this issue, and do not the socialist countries have a precedent in...I'm afraid it's not put very clearly, but what he means is that there's a two-party system in Bulgaria and we know, of course, in other socialist countries as well. Evidently Comrade Korolev wants to hear your views on this.

[Losev] Well, we have only had the first wave of responses so far, mainly in the newspapers. The so-called theoretical organs have yet to state their attitudes, and clearly we cannot rule out the possibility that they might take up this issue. But to be frank, the newspaper responses that I've seen hardly devote any attention to this aspect. You mentioned Bulgaria, but why only Bulgaria? There are parties in the GDR...

[Kalyagin, interrupting] In practically all the socialist countries.

[Losev] And Hungary and Poland.

[Kalyagin] And in China.

[Losev] Yes, there is an agricultural party. There is an agricultural party. So this is no problem. We also had parties in the first few years of Soviet power and they ended up outside the government coalition—let us put it that way—because they raised their hands against Soviet power and began an armed revolt as a result of a historical development. They were not deliberately liquidated; it was the result of historical development and such things are not created artificially. There has to be some sort of...

[Kalyagin, interrupting] Under socialism (?there are no conditions) allowing several parties to exist.

[Losev] ...basis, you see.

[Kalyagin] Vyacheslav Vasilyevich Zotov, a petroleum engineer from Moscow, asks the following: What do you see as the point of the meetings between our defense ministers, between U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci and Yazov? After all, years of talks have failed to produce results. Do you believe that these meetings will be of any use? I am directing the question to you, Viktor Pavlovich, but I think that in light of his previous remarks Aleksandr Yevgenyevich could also answer it.

[Karpov] Well, I can state that the first meeting between Comrade Yazov and U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci in Berne did not, of course, solve all the problems which had not been solved before. It would have been naive to assume that it could solve them. But there was a discussion of some fundamental things concerning military doctrines and the possibility of an exchange of visits between the U.S. and Soviet Armed Forces—I mean, of course, representatives of those Armed Forces—such as mutual calls by ships, trips by the leaders of the Soviet General Staff, by Comrade Akhromeyev, who is in Washington at the moment, and visits by U.S. chiefs of staff of the branches of the Armed Forces, etc. From a position in which the U.S. and Soviet Armed Forces gazed at one another from afar with tremendous suspicion, there is at last an opportunity for the leaders of those Armed Forces, for the ministers, to take a human look at each other close up, to see whether somebody perhaps has horns and, so to speak, to see if it is possible to reduce the tension and suspicion which exist. This is what we see as the point behind cultivating contacts between the leaders of the Soviet and U.S. military departments.

[Bovin] I would like to add that we at the Peace Committee have another approach. We made the following suggestions to the Americans: Let a hundred of your ordinary soldiers and a hundred of ours get together and discuss the problems that soldiers have, what Army service is like there and here. By the way, our Defense Ministry agreed to this, but the Americans seem to have been prevaricating. So, there we have another idea for contacts between the military, but on a different level. [passage omitted]

[Kalyagin] Aleksandr Dmitriyevich Netesin, an engineer from Staryy Oskol in Belgorod Oblast, asks: Little has been written lately about Soviet-Cuban relations. Why is this? I must say that I have not noticed this. What do you think?

[Losev] No, everything is normal. There is no deterioration. Our relations are developing fine. Thus, there are no problems.

[Kalyagin] I think we all agree on this.

[Bovin] They are fairly steady and stable relations, without anything to disturb them.

[Kalyagin] For some reason, Aleksandr Yevgenyevich keeps getting the most controversial questions.

[Karpov] It is because people know the way he replies to questions!

[Kalyagin] Comrade Bulgak in Zaporozhye asks: Are our domestic and foreign policies going to become like Yugoslavia's policies? I just want to add that last time we also had a whole series of questions connected with Yugoslavia. I would even like to find them because it is very interesting. Comrade Vasiliy Nikolayevich Kuzmin in the town of Zheleznodorozhnyy asks: Is Yugoslavia, that friendly and fraternal country, socialist? There is total confusion. [Kalyagin continues reading the viewer's comments] In the press Yugoslavia comes under reports from the fraternal socialist countries, but certain organizations like Intourist and the Department for Visas and Registration of Foreign Citizens regard Yugoslavia as very nearly capitalist. I fought in Yugoslavia. It is a country that means a lot to me. I tried to get a travel voucher in Intourist, but they poured cold water on my plans and declared that it was a capitalist country with all the accompanying consequences.

[Bovin] I think we are getting lost in the labyrinths of our bureaucracy, where things like that are quite possible. But if you look at things not from the point of view of Intourist or the visa department, but from the party political and scientific point of view—which is the only possible one—Yugoslavia is of course a socialist country, and no other reply is possible here. Moreover, a previous question was interesting...

[Kalyagin, interrupting] You mean we can consider that our policies are going to be like Yugoslavia's now?

[Bovin] Yes, yes!

[Losev] I would like to say a word in defense of the visa department. I do not know just when the question refers to...

[Kalyagin, interrupting] He may be judging by the situation 2 or 3 years ago.

[Losev] Since February of this year, in accordance with a decision adopted last year, the procedure for travel to socialist countries, all the socialist countries, including Yugoslavia, has been simplified considerably. It should now take just 15 days to sort out the documents for any socialist country, including Yugoslavia and Cuba.

[Bovin] That is a good thing. Let us be grateful.

[Losev] As of next year, or rather this year, commercial tourism is being developed broadly on the basis of travel vouchers that people can obtain. This year it is being done on an experimental basis and next year it will be on a large-scale basis, so to speak, and a wide range of countries will be involved.

[Kalyagin] That is only to be welcomed. But the viewer was asking about another matter.

[Bovin] He asked whether our policies would become the same as Yugoslavia's. I think that one should not put the question like that in the first place. We shall have our policies, the Chinese will have theirs, and Yugoslavs will have theirs. But, all the same, let's put it in simplified terms. The Yugoslavs started their restructuring much earlier than we did. They've had changes in the way the economy, the national economy is managed, there's been a switch to combining planning and market principles in economic management, there's been decentralization. They started all these processes in the early fifties.

So, looking at Yugoslavia now, it is very useful for us to examine what is happening there, just as in China or Hungary, because we can and must secure ourselves against certain altogether not very pleasant things. The Yugoslavs of course have had enormous success in these 30 years, but they have unemployment; I think it was 4 million last year. They have enormous inflation, running at more than 100 percent; it stands at 200 or 300 percent. They have interrepublican difficulties, and so on and so forth. They have vast foreign borrowing, foreign debt. So, you see, there are these problems that they are coming up against. They can see them, they discuss them, and tackle them.

But when we look at our own future, we must also somehow consider such a turn of events and seek in advance the mechanisms to enable us, while combining planning with the market and decentralizing economic management, to safeguard ourselves against such excessively adverse consequences. So I don't think we should model our policies on the policies of Yugoslavia. We are taking our own route, while taking into account the experience—both positive and negative—of our neighbors and friends. That, I think, is the way it is. And as far as foreign policy is concerned, I don't think we shall become a nonaligned country. Let's continue to make it possible for the Yugoslavs to be nonaligned!

[Karpov] Otherwise we won't know whom to non-align ourselves to, Yugoslavia or whom!

[Bovin] So let each country pick its own policy, and let's learn from one another.

[Kalyagin] Vladimir Aleksandrovich Rozhnov, a journalist from the village of (Stanovoye) in Lipetsk Oblast, asks several questions on a military theme. I'd first like to congratulate Comrade Rozhnov on getting through to us by telephone from a village in Lipetsk Oblast, which is no small feat in itself! There's one question here which I think we have already answered: Why is there so little information in the central newspapers on the problem of reducing conventional weapons in central Europe. We have just dealt with that. Here is another question from him: Are there any Soviet warships in the Persian Gulf?

[Karpov] There are several of our minesweepers in the Persian Gulf. They are ensuring the passage of our merchant ships.

[Losev] I think there are about four of them.

[Karpov] Five, or four—they are constantly being replaced.

[Bovin] There's an escort vessel, I believe, and a couple of mine sweepers, and...

[Losev] This is in comparison to 30 or 40 U.S. ships. There are about 30 at the moment, but usually they have kept 40 there.

[Bovin] I think the Kuwaitis have chartered three tankers from us, and we're escorting these tankers.

[Kalyagin] Nikolay Dmitriyevich Yevseyev, a pensioner from Alma-Ata, asks the following general question. What influence did the 19th party conference exert on the general disarmament negotiations? What could you say about that?

[Bovin] There hasn't been time yet...

[Karpov, interrupting] It really is too early to say what influence it exerted, but I have already said that there is more confidence in our proposals, more attention to our proposals, and consequently we can count on wider support for our proposals in different political circles. I think that in the long term this will be the effect of the party conference.

[Kalyagin] I think that we can all agree with that. Vladimir Gennadiyevich Fedosov, an engineer from the town of (?Kolbin), asks whether in the near future we shall be able to compare the data on the armed forces of the Western countries, which are fairly widely known, with data on our own armed forces.

[Karpov] I think that this opportunity will come, since, as you will know, our proposal for a three-stage reduction of troops and armaments in Europe provides for an exchange of data between NATO and the Warsaw Pact on troops and armaments on the European Continent. I think that within this context the balance which exists in Europe at any rate, will be visible, and people will be able to reach their own conclusions and make their own assessments about this balance. [passage omitted]

[Kalyagin] Now here is a question of quite a different color, as the saying goes. What are the prospects for establishing diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel? This is a question from Vladimir Andreyevich Maslov, an engineer from Moscow. He adds that he is a nonparty member.

[Bovin] Over to you.

[Karpov] With pleasure. I can say that we do not shun contacts with Israeli politicians and state figures, but the question of establishing diplomatic relations with Israel does not yet arise in practical terms. But we do not rule out the prospect of this happening. If Israel agrees to the holding of a Near East conference in the form that we propose, or with some small amendments—and this is something that is currently being discussed with the United States and the Arab states—we shall be prepared to establish diplomatic relations with Israel in the context of discussions at such a Near East conference.

[Kalyagin] I've just been reading a question here. It is a very long question, and quite an angry one.

[Karpov] With a reprimand!

[Kalyagin] Yes, with a reprimand! But I think it is of fundamental significance, and I think we should all pool our efforts to give a reply. Nikolay Ivanovich Grachev, an engineer from Sverdlovsk, has asked the question. He says he wants to know what the new political thinking consists of. Isn't it just a case of making countless concessions to the West? We constantly agree to their demands, and receive nothing in return. And he goes on to set out his view that we made concessions in signing the Euromissile treaty. Many people in the West talk about the Warsaw Pact countries' superiority in conventional weapons, and we have already started to agree to that, and somehow you can't hear our spokesmen being so persistent in talking about the multiple superiority of the Americans. And so on and so forth. I think that a fundamental reply must be given to this question.

[Karpov] I think it must. I think first of all that this question contains its own answer. Why is it that all agreements that are concluded with the United States or the Western powers are viewed by us from the point of view of who made concessions to whom? Why do we have this approach?

[Bovin] We are the victims of our own propaganda.

[Karpov] I think that is true. We have already spoken about it. We are frequently influenced by the propaganda that we set in motion ourselves. We really have reduced and will reduce more medium-range missiles in Europe that the United States. But who forced us to site so many missiles in Europe? For the whole of Britain we need 5 nuclear warheads of an average yield of 150-200 kilotonnes, but we have 900 missiles. Who needed these missiles? We counted them. Why were they sited? The Americans sited fewer, so they will have to eliminate fewer. As far as conventional troops and armaments in Europe are concerned...

[Bovin, interrupting] It was no concession.

[Karpov] It was no concession, but if we agreed to eliminate these missiles, we have to eliminate more because we sited more. As far as troops and armaments in Europe are concerned, we also have to examine realistically who has how many stationed and where. And there are imbalances. In central Europe, the Warsaw Pact countries have more troops and armaments; NATO has more troops and armaments on the southern flank. Such is the correlation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. You have to examine these things. We could agree to reduce troops in central Europe to a greater degree, with the NATO countries reducing more in southern Europe. We see this as an opportunity for an accord to lower the level of military confrontation. But why should we have this compulsory view that if we make concessions in central Europe, and we get concessions in southern Europe, that would be a bad thing?

[Bovin] The viewer started from a broader question. What's this got to do with the new political thinking?

[Karpov] It's common sense.

[Bovin] It's simply a sense of realism. If I have 10 pistols and you have 5, and we decide to throw them all away, I will be throwing away twice as many as you. This is normal, and I don't think there is even a whiff of a concession here. By the way, there are certain things where our former standpoints weren't realistic enough. We are now changing them, and from the outside it seems like we are backing down. We are simply returning to a common sense standpoint. Everything is natural and normal here. But I want to say again how our former propaganda is now backfiring on us, if you like.

[Losev] Regarding the medium and shorter-range missiles, the person who asked the question has evidently forgotten one thing: The U.S. missiles were of strategic significance in regard to us. At the same time, we could not reach the United States with our missiles.

[Kalyagin] The time factor was also involved.

[Losev] So the fact that we are eliminating more missiles than the Americans is compensated in this other aspect: They have to eliminate missiles with a very short flight time, which in practical terms means that the problem of defense is made very much more difficult. Missiles of strategic significance are those that can hit targets on our territory.

And this viewer continues in the same spirit: Why does the USSR not supply arms to the insurgents in El Salvador and the African National Congress, on the same basis that the United States supplies arms to the dushmans and contras? This is a serious question, which should not just be shrugged off. This is because the basis, the heart of the Reagan doctrine is the export of counterrevolution. Isn't that so? And this happens above all through the supply of arms to these gangs, which are destabilizing the situation in sovereign states. The author of the theory was the late Casey, whose advice was followed by President Reagan. By the way, as far as Central America and Afghanistan are concerned, the

former policy is being continued. Casey said that you needed to supply only a small amount of weapons to these gangs in order to destabilize the situation in some small developing country.

As far as our policy is concerned, it is generally known, isn't it? We do not export revolution. But that does not mean that we do not render aid, including the supply of arms, to national liberation movements. The writer is deeply wrong on this. It suffices to ask the representatives of national liberation movements directly—and the writer can do that now, because they visit Moscow regularly—to obtain a completely different answer from the one implied in his question.

But I must say that we do not, of course, supply the Salvadorans, the Salvadoran insurgents with weapons. We do not try to crawl into the Americans' backyard. But one would like them to stop this habit of creeping up to our very borders and destabilizing the situation in neighboring countries. It isn't 1929, of course, which was the time when we were relatively weak and such operations as the one on the East China Railway were undertaken. I link this with the situation which is being brought about by the quite impudent and shameless policy of Pakistan, which continues to contravene the Geneva agreements. But we're not so defenseless.

[Bovin] This is a broader question. We should not compete with the Americans over who is going to send in more weapons. We should display some wisdom here in the context of the new political thinking and try to work out some sort of mechanism for managing these crisis situations and preventing them from growing into some sort of wider conflict. That is what we should concern ourselves with, I repeat, and we are attempting to do so, instead of competing over who can supply more weapons somewhere. The latter path is not the best way to strengthen security. It was no coincidence that the conference report said that in the past we overstressed the significance of military-political methods at the expense of purely political methods for strengthening our security. We are now attempting, somehow, to reach new goals in our policy. This is very important, I believe.

[Kalyagin] We have already touched on the situation in Afghanistan, and there are quite a few questions on this. Most of them, for some reason, are addressed to Aleksandr Yevgenyevich Bovin. Evidently he is regarded as a symbol of journalistic conscience. At any rate, people are demanding an unequivocal reply to the question of whether sending our troops into Afghanistan was a mistake or our internationalist duty. They ask us to assess the dispatch of Soviet troops to Afghanistan. Several people ask this: Barabanov from Moscow, Ivan Alekseyevich Sergeyev from Moscow.

[Bovin] Let's just think about this together. It's a very complex problem. If I attempt to assess the intentions which prompted us to do this, I must conclude that the intentions were the most noble ones. It was our internationalist duty. We decided to do this, to help our friends in a very difficult and tense situation, when the infiltration of this counterrevolution from abroad had been stepped up, and the Americans were active there. And we decided to help our friends, I repeat, to go in and stabilize the situation, and then to pull out. As far as I can imagine, that must have been the motivation of the people who made the decision. But we can now see—and one is always much wiser with hindsight—that not all circumstances were evidently duly considered. First, we didn't consider sufficiently the situation inside Afghanistan. We came up against the fact that resistance came not from individual people. The resistance was of a broader nature. This is something that came to light later. We saw ourselves getting bogged down there, and we couldn't do what we wanted. We got bogged down, and paid quite a high price. The war, as is known, is not popular in the Soviet Union, among the people. And I think that our new political leadership demonstrated a sense of realism when, having assessed the whole situation self-critically, it made the only possible decision in the circumstances: the decision to pull out of the war. Although, by the way, there are also drawbacks to that decision.

[Kalyagin] By the way, in this regard people also ask what measures our government can take if the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan are not observed.

[Bovin] You know, this is a very difficult question. I get the impression that we have no realistic measures that we can adopt. What? Are we to remain there, and keep troops there, and slow down the troop pull-out? I can't really imagine such measures. But evidently there are political measures. We shall be negotiating with the Americans, with them and with third countries. We shall be shaping world public opinion over this problem. We shall attempt somehow to influence the situation through political means, but not military. I think we should approach it from that point of view.

[Kalyagin] What is the view in the ministry?

[Karpov] I think that the main thing of course is that the policy of national reconciliation should be affirmed in Afghanistan itself.

[Bovin] That would be ideal of course. It would be ideal.

[Karpov] And we must work to promote this policy, to promote its triumph. I think that the combination—the pullout of our troops and the stepping up of the political struggle to ensure noninterference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan—provides a way out of the situation.

[Losev] I think we have become somewhat sidetracked from our main topic, which is the 19th party conference, but we are guided by the questions that are put to us. Without becoming distracted from this question, I should like to return to the party conference. What I

think was a very important question was touched on at the conference in the choice of priorities. It was typical, moreover, that it was raised not in speeches by representatives of the intelligentsia, but in speeches by representatives of workers and peasants. You may remember that speech by the Chuvash chairman, which was etched in all our memories.

[Bovin] What should our priorities be.

[Losev] Yes, what should our priorities be. He even said, you ask where the money should come from to restore to the countryside what the country as a whole has taken from it. I'll show you the sources, he said. They are the various ruinous projects that we once regarded as great construction projects, but which have turned out completely differently. Then there is the unthinking spending of money on land reclamation in areas where reclamation is carried out quite uselessly, where we essentially bury the money in the ground, in the mud. I'm not referring to places lik Belorussia, where land reclamation is on a fine footing. There it's quite another matter. And this can also be applied to foreign policy problems. Take the problem of aid. We can remember a time when we built huge stadiums in developing countries. Even if they asked for them, we should not have done it. First, we have our own enormous needs. Second, they'll somehow survive without stadiums. They are currently facing problems of hunger, drought, and foreign debt.

[Bovin] Foreign policy must be made cheaper.

[Losev] This also applies to the mistakes we make in our foreign policy. We must make it cheaper and then we shall find the money. Returning to Afghanistan, we miscalculated when the decision was being made. That is now quite obvious.

[Karpov] When the situation was being assessed.

[Losev] Yes, when the situation was being assessed. It isn't the best country in which to undertake such actions. The pity is that this was undertaken when we already had the lesson of the Americans before our eyes.

[Bovin] Now we have also been given a lesson, we have also been given a lesson.

[Kalyagin] Our time is almost up, but here is one last question, connected with recent events: the Americans' downing of an Iranian aircraft, using two missiles. Comrade Gritsinyn from Moscow compares this with our downing of a South Korean aircraft in the Far East, and he asks what the common factors and the differences are in these two events. Let's reply very briefly.

[Losev] Well, you see, in our first commentaries we did not touch on this aspect. It was broached by the Americans. They asked for the comparison themselves, as the saying goes. And President Reagan personally (?threw it into play), so to speak. We have had to return to the subject as well. Since then, very many quite thorough and detailed works have come out. There was a Japanese booklet, from which it was clear that it had been a CIA intelligence operation. In other words, the responsibility for what has just happened in the Persian Gulf, and the other operation and the tragic consequences, is borne by the Americans.

[Kalyagin] Also, it was over our territory.

[Losev] They are now back-tracking from the version of events initially put out by the Pentagon. They asserted that the aircraft was descending, and was all but adopting a kamikaze tactic to ram the cruiser, which was stuffed full of electronics. But it turns out that it was gaining height. They asserted that it had left the air corridor used by civilian aircraft. Today they admitted that nothing of the sort had occurred. It deviated slightly from the center line in the air corridor, and had started to turn toward the center line. That was when they downed it.

[Kalyagin] One can agree with Jesse Jackson, one of the candidates for the presidency, who said it was not a technical error but an error of policy. [passage omitted]

Further Vorontsov Comments on Afghanistan

LD0807174488 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in English 1400 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] A meeting of representatives of the public and the leadership of the Soviet and Foreign Ministry [as heard] was recently held in one of Moscow's largest machine-building plants. This meeting was sponsored by the Soviet Peace Committee. The representatives of official diplomacy were headed by the first deputy foreign minister, Yuliy Vorontsov, and citizen diplomacy was headed by writer Genrikh Borovik. Our story on this event was compiled by our correspondent Viktor Yenikeyev:

To be quite frank, the representatives of the foreign political establishment had no time for exchanging diplomatic niceties. The employees and other representatives of the public were serious and very businesslike. And this was already evident from the first question: What is it that is obstructing a speedier settlement of the Afghan-Pakistani conflict? Replying to this question, the first deputy Soviet foreign minister Yuliy Vorontsov said the following:

Pakistan is indeed poorly fulfilling the Geneva accords, declared Yuliy Vorontsov. We have said this right out in the open and that is why we are saying so now. We have said as much directly to the president of Pakistan and other leaders of the country. On Pakistani territory there are still camps where rebels are being trained, where arms are being transferred into the hands of the counterrevolutionary forces. The fact that some kind of

government of Afghanistan in exile has been set up is also known to us. All this is a gross violation of the accord signed by the representatives of Islamabad in Geneva.

Judging by the keen attention of the auditorium, this topic was on the minds of many. Some who were present had sons who had served or are still serving with the Soviet contingent in Afghanistan. And that's why it's possible to understand why they raised the question about the fate of war prisoners. What is being done to bring them back home? That question was replied by Yuliy Vorontsov:

Not only have we raised this question, says Yuliy Vorontsov, we are struggling hard to have our boys released and all possible channels are being used for this purpose. Talks are underway with Pakistan and with the Red Cross. An appeal has been addressed to the United States Government with a request for assistance on this matter. Citizens diplomacy is working very energetically in that direction. The Soviet Peace Committee, the Soviet Womens Committee, have sent a petition to the leadership of Pakistan, appealing to them to display humanism and love of man. But regretfully Islamabad claims that no Soviet war prisoners have been found so far on Pakistani territory. However, it has been established that several Soviet war prisoners have been taken to the United States, but the American authorities are refusing to meet with them. More than that, they are being involved in shady deals so as to prevent them from returning to the Soviet Union. Bearing this in mind, the prosecutor-general of the Soviet Union has issued a statement that all of these soldiers will be fully amnestied.

One of the employees at the meeting said he was bewildered by Iran's unconstructive stand on the matter of a settlement in Afghanistan because Iran is a country with which Moscow and Kabul always had good-neighborly relations, and which from its own experience has felt the tragedy of a fratricidal war. Explaining the situation, Yuliy Vorontsov said the following:

The Iran-Afghan border is not a border of peace, says Yuliy Vorontsov. This border is being crossed by groups of rebels into Afghan territory where they are conducting an armed struggle. That is why we directly tell the Iranian leaders that they must join the process of a peaceful settlement of the Afghan problem and stop feeding and arming the rebels.

Speaking of the motives behind such a policy of Iranian leaders in respect to Kabul, Yuliy Vorontsov continues:

They are dreaming that an Islamic republic like the Islamic Republic of Iran will be established in Afghanistan, and they do not conceal their plans. We are trying, continued Yuliy Vorontsov, to convince the Iranian leaders that a peaceful, friendly Afghanistan on their border is much better than a hotbed of military danger. This is evident all the more because Iran, for many years already, has been waging a painful and bloodstained war with Iraq.

In conclusion, Yuliy Vorontsov was asked how he assesses the efforts of the participants of the peace movement in our country and whether citizens diplomacy creates additional difficulties for official diplomacy. In reply to this question Yuliy Vorontsov said the following:

Citizens diplomacy represents a very important factor of the struggle for peace, said Yuliy Vorontsov. The demands of the public at large for disarmament and for the elimiantion of nuclear weapons have always helped us in our work. And it's a good thing that ardent proponents of citizens diplomacy are acting in all corners of the globe. In fact, we are indeed happy to see citizens diplomacy both in our country and abroad. For only through the concerted and multiplied efforts can we safeguard peace on our planet.

And this was the cardinal idea that was expressed at the meeting of representatives of official and citizens diplomacy which was recently held in one of Moscow's biggest machine-building plants.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze, Matlock Discuss World Situation

PM1107091788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 July 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under heading "Reception of Envoy"]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Foreign Minister, received today U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Jack Matlock at the latter's request.

In the course of a frank conversation, they discussed issues connected with the situation in some regions of the world.

During an exchange of opinions on Central America, the Soviet side noted that the U.S. position continued to show no elements of constructive approach. The anti-Nicaraguan policy of the U.S. Administration was criticized. Eduard Shevardnadze stated the firm intention of the Soviet Union to continue cooperation with the Nicaraguan Government, which is fighting for the independence and sovereignty of its country, for the right of its people to have a free choice. The need was stressed to persistently seek out ways leading to a just political settlement of the Central American situation with due account taken of the legitimate interests of the sides involved, without outside interference into the internal affairs of Central American states.

In connection with the tragic downing by American missiles of an Iranian passenger airliner, Eduard Shevardnadze reaffirmed the Soviet principled position: This is not an accident, but dramatic evidence showing what the policy from the positions of strength and of building up tensions might lead to. It was pointed out that normalization of the volatile situation in the Persian Gulf could be ensured only on the basis of implementing the well-known decision of the U.N. Security Council, the withdrawal of foreign naval fleets from there, and the solution of security problems by creating a U.N. naval force.

Further Reportage on Iranian Airbus Downing

Shishlin Commentary

LD1007194988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Shishlin Commentary]

[Excerpts] Hello comrades! First, about what happened last Sunday. On 3 July, at 1047, an aircraft was observed over Iranian territory by the U.S. cruiser "Vincennes," which was in the Persian Gulf. Within 4 minutes, the aircraft had been declared hostile by the U.S. cruiser, and within a further 3 minutes, two conventional surface-to-air missiles had been fired at the aircraft. At least one of them hit the aircraft, and it crashed into the water; 298 lives were lost by this shot. The United States is currently stating that a tragic mistake was made. They are saying they had not worked out what type of aircraft it was. Perhaps it was a mistake. But this was a mistake that was imminent.

At least three conclusions follow from what occurred. First: The operating methods by the United States and its partners in the Persian Gulf is proving its groundlessness. No one disputes the principle of freedom of navigation, but when warships are dispatched 15,000 km from their shores, then failures, tragedies, and casualties are made knowingly imminent.

But it might be asked: Is there any other operating method there? I think there is. There is the Soviet proposal, which suggests withdrawing foreign warships from Gulf waters and sending UN forces there. Let us suppose someone does not like the Soviet proposal. Then alternatives must be sought; other ideas, other practical steps must be sought. But the United States is currently saying that it will act in the old way, in the spirit of the cowboy complex, shooting from the hip, which means making fresh calamity imminent.

In the second place: What has happened forces us to speak of the great calamity that has become firmly entrenched in this region. I have in mind the Iran-Iraq war. No one can calculate how many lives have already been lost in this war. There is talk of 1 million, and this seems quite plausible. Just recently the Iraqis have been pressing the Iranians, and none other than Iran's supreme commander, Hashemi-Rafsanjani, who is also the Majlis speaker, has been saying that time is no longer on Iran's side.

But, nevertheless, the 87-year-old Khomeyni is saying that the problem will in any case be resolved not at the negotiating table but at the fronts. But it is precisely a political settlement, a just political settlement, that meets the interests of both Iran and Iraq. In a nonpolitical settlement, people will die, the economies of both countries will be shattered, and of course there will remain in this very sensitive zone inflamed passions and inflamed relations.

Third: Before mentioning the third conclusion that follows from this tragedy, I would like to give you an opportunity to see how people in West Germany reacted to what occurred. The reaction of the West Germans is more or less typical of the Western European states. [passage omitted]

And now the third conclusion: While the shock following the tragedy with the Iranian aircraft has not yet subsided, is it not time to think about the fact that the policy of strength, of violence, makes calamity obviously imminent in the situation, whether this occurs at the national level, the regional level, or at the universal level? The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference rightly reminded us that to resist freedom of choice means placing oneself at

variance with the objective course of history itself. This is why it was said in the conference decision that the policy of strength, in all forms and manifestations, has become historically obsolete. And this is true: Historically, the policy of strength has become obsolete. But this does not mean it has become obsolete politically. We are still encountering it.

U.S. 'Trigger-Happy'

OW1007152488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0300 GMT 8 Jul 88

[From the Novosti newscast; Vadim Lobachenko commentary]

[Text] The world public severely condemns the barbaric action of the U.S. militarists, whose missiles downed an Iranian passenger liner in the Persian Gulf region. Our commentary follows.

[Lobachenko] Hello, comrades. Americans have a widely-used expression: trigger-happy. This means: bellicose, shooting indiscriminately. This expression exactly fits the American servicemen of the cruiser "Vincennes" in the Persian Gulf. They fired two missiles on the Iranian passenger liner and killed 298 people, including 66 children.

The Pentagon, trying to excuse its cowboys armed with missiles and is now proposing many explanations for the tragic mistake. It says that the liner looked like a military plane on radar screens, that it did not make the necessary signals, and that it was descending in a threatening manner towards the cruiser. I have here the latest telegrams of news agencies in front of me, which refer to experts' opinions [word indistinct] and confirm the fact that, first, the Iranian airplane by no means dove towards the cruiser, but, on the contrary, was ascending after having taken off from Bandar Abbas Airport. An automatic device was continuously functioning aboard the plane, which was constantly sending signals that it was a civilian plane. The Iranian pilot (?Riza Ian) had flown 25 times on the same Bandar Abbas-Dubayy route. It was a routine flight for him, except that this time the plane's route crossed the route of a U.S. cruiser, which had already fired on several Iranian sea motor boats.

According to specialists, a large liner could be seen with the unaided eye, and even more so on radar. Of course it could be easily distinguished from a military plane, both by its size and its speed. But the plane, like boats, was coming from the direction of Iran, and that seems to have been the decisive issue for the cruiser commander, who hurried to press the missile-firing button.

It is a day of national mourning in Iran, the funeral of the victims of random-shooting American fire-eaters. They, like the cruiser "Vincennes" and dozens of other American naval ships, remain in the Persian Gulf region. The Pentagon has officially stated that there is no question of the cessation of the American military presence in this region. This means that a source of deadly danger continues to remain there. (Robin Wright), an American publicist, wrote today in THE NEW YORK TIMES that there is only one way to avoid a new tradegy, and that is to remove all U.S. naval forces from the Persian Gulf. One cannot but agree with this conclusion of Ame ans having common sense.

Allied Response Deplored

PM0807143588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 88 Second Edition p 7

[Vsevolod Ovchinnikov "Observer's Opinion": "Hypocrites"]

[Text] They say that only an attempt to justify a crime can be worse than the crime itself. Surely this is what Washington's Western and Oriental allies are engaged in at the moment? Reading the reactions of official circles in London, Tokyo, and certain other capitals to the act of state terrorism in the Persian Gulf, you cannot help feeling disgust. You think: Gentlemen, after such duplicity, who would believe in your independence of opinion, your homilies on justice and morals, your vows about your adherence to the high ideals of democracy and peace in conditions of freedom?

For several days now, comments have been made throughout the world, notably in capitalist countries, on the shooting down of the Iranian passenger aircraft by a U.S. missile. But as the Japanese NHK TV Company correctly pointed out, "voices condemning the Reagan administration are not very audible amid this discordant hullabaloo." Official Tokyo has confined itself to expressing "profound regret and condolences." According to NHK, the Takeshita government has avoided condemning the actions of the U.S. naval forces "in view of its alliance relationship with Washington."

The British Government stated that it profoundly regrets the death of the passengers but, however, fully supports the right of the U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf to self-defense. According to THE INDEPENDENT, Prime Minister Thatcher played the role of U.S. advocate even before the details of what happened became known. "Once again Britain is applauding any actions taken by the U.S. Administration in the face of world public opinion," Labor's Brian Wilson stated sadly in the House of Commons.

It would be inappropriate to draw parallels between the downing of the two passenger aircraft: one over the Strait of Hormuz a few days ago and the other over Sakhalin in 1983. The Iranian Airbus was taken out by a U.S. missile many thousands of kilometers away from the United States while on a regular flight within an international air corridor mapped out for civilian flights. The South Korean Boeing-747 not merely encroached on Soviet air space but maneuvered there for 2 and ½ hours so as to fly

over most important strategic facilities and was only taken out after it seemed that all means of making the intruder land at the nearest airfield had been exhausted.

In short, there can be no comparisons in the case in question. But it is quite appropriate to compare the frenzied anti-Soviet pandemonium which encompassed the capitalist world 5 years ago with the present cynical attempts to justify the U.S. military's crime. I would like to remind the people who are now seeking "extenuating circumstances" of their former assertions: Yes, they said, the South Korean aircraft was indeed more than 500 km off course. Yes, it was flying over Kamchatka and Sakhalin without lights and did not respond to warnings. Yes, any state's air space is inviolable. Nonetheless, they said that only "the evil empire" could have considered all this sufficient grounds for opening fire on a passenger airliner....

Now those very "humanists" in London, Tokyo, and other capitals are assiduously citing the U.S. side's diametrically opposite pseudoarguments. President Reagan: "I believe that the case is closed. The incident was explicable. The United States was exercising its inalienable right to self-defense." Vice President Bush: "The commander of the cruiser 'Vincennes' acted correctly because he did not want to endanger his heroic men." Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: "Ships' commanders should not wait until they are fired on to open fire in return." Senator Nunn: "The U.S. Armed Forces must always have the right to defend themselves everywhere."

This is the entire moral of the story. If their men kill, they are not criminals but potential victims.

Like a flash of lightning, the tragedy in the Persian Gulf highlighted the hypocrisy of the people who like to lecture others on civilized relations among states.

Iran's Larijani Cited

LD0807145388 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Rome July 8 TASS—"A shameful act of terrorism". This is how Mohammad Javad Larijani, deputy foreign minister of Iran, described the destruction of the Iranian passenger plane over the Persian Gulf. He stressed that "the armed forces were used against a civilian target".

The Iranian deputy foreign minister conducted talks here late on Thursday with the Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti. Interviewed by journalists after the talks Mohammad Javad Larijani said that his country had no intention to "take revenge" on the United States. "Revenge is as sanguinary as a terrorist act", he said.

Mohammad Javad Larijani stressed that Iran expected "concrete results" of the forthcoming meeting of the United Nations Security Council at which it is planned to study the question of the downing of the Iranian air liner. The Security Council should adopt a "substantiated (?resolution" on) this matter, he said.

Iranian Tudeh Leader Remarks

LD0907183088 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1330 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Statement by Tudeh Party First Secretary 'Ali Khavari; date and place not given; recorded—Khavari speaks in Persian, fading into superimposed Arabic report]

[Text] Our homeland's people, and people everywhere, learned a few days ago with great annoyance of the shameful and ugly crime committed by the "Vincennes" cruiser in the Arab Gulf on the Iranian A-300 airliner. [The following variation is provided by Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran carried at 1530 GMT on 8 July. The Persian version adds: ...cruiser in the Persian Gulf on the Iranian A-300... (using the term "Persian Gulf" instead of "Arab Gulf" throughout the item)] Two hundred and ninety-eight [figure as heard] innocent people, including 66 children, were the victims of this ugly bestial crime. This crime is the result of the policy of arrogance, violence, quarrelsomeness, and expansionism practiced by U.S. imperialism. It is worth pointing out that this airliner, which was flying in accordance with a carefully defined course, did not represent any danger, and there was no hint of danger. The U.S. warship's radar could not have made a mistake in identifying it as a civilian airliner.

Our people ask: Is this crime, which occurred in the aftermath of many aggressions by U.S. naval forces in the Arab Gulf against Iranian ships and oil installations, not a continuation of efforts by the United States to restore its reputation, which was badly shaken following Irangate? Or does U.S. imperialism have some other sinister objectives behind the veil of this undoubtedly premeditated step? The fact that the U.S. forces had identified the plane as a civilian airliner is beyond doubt. An ABC TV correspondent said openly that with modern technology, it is not difficult to distinguish between an airliner and a fighter. The fact that the Reagan administration justified this ugly and abominable crime and stated with more imperialist arrogance that the U.S. Armed Forces will continue to protect ships and U.S. soldiers shows the whole world the extent of the dangerous nature of the neo-global policy pursued by the U.S. Administration.

'Ali Khavari said: The people of our country, the region, and the whole world indeed ask what is the object of the so-called onslaught of forces in the style of the Mongols, which was carried out by the United States and its allies in the Arab Gulf in this explosive and highly tense region? This objective is to pour oil on the fires of the tension and achieve hegemonist colonialist plans. It is no secret that the United States plays an active role here in escalating the bloody war which has entered its 8th year in the Arab Gulf region. Jesse Jackson, a prominent U.S.

political leader, laughs at all the talk about a technical mistake committed when the Iranian civilian airliner was shot down and says this was not a technical mistake or a computer mistake: Rather, it is our policy that is mistaken.

'Ali Khavari said: I want to add something else—this is not a mistake in implementing policy. The policy itself, which strives to impose domination over the whole world, consolidate the imperialist U.S. military presence in the region, and plunder the region's natural and human resources is wrong. It is also a policy to escalate and exploit tension to guarantee the maximum U.S. imperialist control over the strategically important Arab Gulf region or catching gold fish in muddy waters. This same policy plays a big role in muddying these waters.

The imperialist military quarters give many examples of their aggressive spirit: for instance, the aggression against Grenada, the small, free, and independent country which was occupied in a bestial manner. Open interference into the affairs of countries struggling for their national sovereignty, freedom, and independence is another example. These quarters also claim the right to dominate the world in accordance with their interests. The people of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Afghanistan, Angola, Pakistan, and the other peoples of the world who defend independence, freedom, and national dignity have been confronting for many years not only their internal problems, but also the constant crude destructive interference by U.S. imperialism. Iran is no exception.

'Ali Khavari said: Regarding the problems which we face inside the country and the policy pursued by the rulers of our country against the people and democracy, this matter concerns the Iranian people alone. The Iranian people, in particular, should determine their own fate. As for the unjust policy and the evil grasping designs of U.S. imperialism and its aggressions against the national interests of our homeland and people, this is a separate matter.

The Iranian Tudeh Party, all the toilers, and all the Iranian progressive forces firmly denounce the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism, all forms of open and secret interference, and all conspiracies and plots. The aggression against the Iranian airliner, in violation of all international norms, is a crude violation of the most simple of human rights. This incident, which followed various terrorist actions one after the other, is a result of the presence of the naval units of the United States and its allies in the Arab Gulf, which has escalated tension greatly in the region. It forces the peace-loving people in our country and the whole world to insist on the departure of all foreign fleets, and primarily the Armed Forces of the U.S. imperialism, from the Gulf region. This incident is a new reminder to all honest people and peace-loving people in the world, and to all those who wish peace for the Iranian and the Iraqi people and the region in general, that it is necessary to redouble efforts aimed at the U.S. military forces' withdrawal from the region and halting the fighting among our brothers.

Reagan Condolences to Families

LD0807221588 Moscow TASS in English 2139 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 9 TASS—The Reagan Administration has sent condolences to the countries whose citizens died aboard the Iranian airliner shot down by a U.S. warship in the Persian Gulf. The messages requesting to convey personal condolences of the President to the bereaved families were addressed to the Governments of Pakistan, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Yugoslavia and Italy.

Simultaneously, however, a White House spokesman announced to journalists that President Reagan did not intend to renounce his Sunday statement according to which the commander of the U.S. warship that destroyed the civilian airbus acted within the framework of proper self-defense.

The administration spokesman also reported that the White House did not intend to change the rules of engagement in the Gulf for the U.S. navy which, in the opinion of several observers, hotted up to a considerable extent the situation in the region and spurred the emergence of this incident.

Ligachev Views French Paintings From U.S.

LD0907100788 Moscow TASS in English 1613 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 8 TASS—Yegor Ligachev, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today visited an exhibition of French paintings called "from Delacroix to Matisse."

The show features works from the Metropolitan Museum in New York and the Chicago Institute of Art.

Ligachev said during the tour that exchanges of artistic treasures between Soviet and U.S. museums help improve mutual understanding between the Soviet and American people.

The exhibition has been mounted at the Pushkin fine arts museum here.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

ASEAN's 'Optimism' on Cambodia Evaluated

BK0707072288 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] In the daily agenda of the ASEAN foreign ministers conference currently held in Bangkok, the Cambodian problem seems to occupy a prominent place. The discussion has proceeded in camera. But if we take a

closer look at the official communique, we will see that the ministers jointly expressed what is called measured optimism for the prospects of a political solution in Cambodia.

Our commentator, Comrade Yuriy Solton, writes:

My opinion is that this optimism is indeed reasonable. A trend toward undoing the knots of the Cambodian conflict has materialized. On this point, the major role has been fulfilled by the national reconciliation policy of the PRK Government. In my opinion, realistic traits have been observed even in the attitude of some opposition groups.

As Comrade Hun Sen, head of the Cambodian Government, has already noticed, the Cambodian problem comprises two key questions: first, the presence of the Vietnamese army volunteers in Cambodia; and second, the question of Pol Pot, the executioner who is credited for massacring 3 million Cambodians.

As far as the Vietnamese volunteer army is concerned, it is now withdrawing from Cambodia. On 30 June, the command of this volunteer army was moved from Phnom Penh back to Vietnam. By the end of this year, as many as 50,000 Vietnamese volunteer combatants will be pulled out of Cambodia. And, by 1990—whether or not there is a political solution—all Vietnamese army volunteers will infallibly return home.

Our commentator, Comrade Yuriy Solton, continues:

In my mind, this event alone shows that the position of people's power in Cambodia is becoming stronger and firmer and that Cambodia is capable of ensuring the defense of its own sovereignty using its own forces. Nevertheless, there is still the question of Pol Pot, who is currently receiving considerable financial and military aid from certain countries to wage an armed struggle against the Cambodian people.

In this connection, in my opinion, other countries, particularly Cambodia's neighbors, should display some political acumen by seeing to it that no criminal subversive activities of external forces can be carried out against the authorities in Cambodia. In this sense, the ASEAN countries certainly can make themselves useful. In essence, the discussion should not concentrate merely on Cambodia's internal affairs, but also on finding ways to put an end to all external interference so as to make an early political solution possible, concluded our commentator Yuriy Solton.

Vietnamese Paper on Cambodian 'Problem'

LD0507163088 Moscow TASS in English 1112 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Hanoi July 5 TASS—The newspaper NHAN DAN, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, described as a new evidence of good will the decision of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean Governments to withdraw half of the Vietnamese volunteer troops from Kampuchea by the end of this year. This constructive step marked an additional impetus to stepping up the process of political settlement of the situation around Kampuchea, an effective contribution to strengthening peace and stability in the region. It received high appraisal from world public opinion.

The trend toward expanding dialogue and peaceful cooperation in Southeast Asia and the world, the recent direct contacts between Kampuchean sides and the positive results of the recent visit by the Vietnamese foreign minister to Thailand create a favourable situation for a just solution of the Kampuchean problem. The newspaper stresses that such a decision can be reached only when the questions of the republic's development are tackled by the Kampuchean people themselves. The settlement of the situation around Kampuchea must ensure both independence and sovereignty of the republic and stronger security in the region.

NHAN DAN expresses the hope that interested sides will duly evaluate the opening perspectives for accelerating the political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, will positively respond to the constructive steps by the governments of Vietnam and Kampuchea.

One of the decisive prerequisites for progress in solving the problem, the newspaper stresses, is the removal from the political scene of the Pol Pot group and the termination of interference from outside in Kampuchea's internal affairs.

SRV, Laotian Participation in Cambodian Talks

BK1007110688 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] SRV Foreign Minister Comrade Nguyen Co Thach has just ended his visit to Laos. In their talks, the Vietnamese and Laotian sides welcome the informal meeting on the Cambodian problem to be held in Bogor, Indonesia. Our station observer (Kuzin) writes the following.

I would like to recall that Vietnamese and Laotian representatives have decided that they will attend this meeting only in its second stage when representatives from Indochinese and ASEAN countries will take part in the talks between delegates from the PRK and all opposing Cambodian parties. It is this kind of meeting which was envisaged in the joint Vietnam-Indonesia statement dated 29 July 1987, a statement which has really paved the way for constructive talks to take place to normalize the Cambodian problem politically. This statement reflects the principled view that the Cambodian problem should be solved by the Cambodian people themselves and that the PRK Government is the legitimate and rightful party to attend the talks. It is necessary to point this out because some people still try to move away from the principles contained in the joint Vietnam-Indonesia

statement and interpret this forthcoming meeting in Bogor as a direct negotiation between Vietnam and opposing Cambodian parties.

Comrade Nguyen Co Thach and Lao leaders note that it is this interpretation which is reflected in various decisions taken by the recent ASEAN foreign ministers' conference in Bangkok. Behind these decisions are hidden longstanding attempts by forces hostile to the Cambodian people to ignore current, legitimate state authorities in Cambodia and to simplify the Cambodian problem's true nature to the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia.

It should be said that the issue of Vietnamese volunteer troops, as recently pointed out by PRK Council of Ministers Chairman Comrade Hun Sen, has already been resolved. The main problem now is to prevent Pol Pot's return to Cambodia. It is certain that any attempts to deviate from the principles agreed upon will affect the forthcoming meeting in Bogor. It requires genuine good chances for this meeting to succeed. Prominent among these is the decision taken in May by the SRV and PRK Governments to withdraw half of the Vietnamese volunteer forces from Cambodia this year. Even those who to the last minute have refused to recognize the real situation in Cambodia are now observed to have a better understanding of this situation.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev Meets Indian President Venkataraman

More on Moscow Arrival

PM0707144588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "On a Friendly Visit"]

[Text] The official friendly visit to our country by President Ramaswami Venkataraman of the Republic of India is a further good sign of the constantly strengthening Soviet-Indian relations. The guest arrived in Moscow 6 July at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Soviet Government.

The hot July sun shining over the capital symbolized, as it were, the cordial warmth that Soviet people feel for the people of India. In the president's honor the state flags of his motherland and the USSR had been hoisted at Sheremetyevo Airport. An honor guard of the three branches of the Armed Forces had been lined up on the airfield.

R. Venkataraman's aircraft landed. The Indian leader and his wife were warmly greeted at the airliner's steps by A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and his wife.

The chief of the honor guard presented his report to the Indian president. A band played the two countries' national anthems.

R. Venkataraman and A.A. Gromyko inspected the Soviet servicemen.

Participating in the welcome were P.K. Khabibullayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union; A.E. Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities; T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; USSR Ministers A.N. Volkov, V.G. Zakharov, and K.F. Katushev; USSR State Committee Chairmen A.N. Aksenov and M.V. Gramov; USSR Deputy Foreign Minister I.A. Rogachev; V.N. Rykov, USSR ambassador to India; and other officials.

The welcoming party included T.N. Kaul, Indian ambassador to the USSR.

To conclude the welcoming ceremony, the honor guard marched past with measured tread.

From the airport a motorcade with motorcycle outriders headed for the city. The state flags of India and the Soviet Union and greetings banners had been hung out in the streets and squares along the route.

Gromyko Speaks at Dinner

PM0807135588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report on speech by A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at 6 July Kremlin dinner for Indian President Venkataraman under the general heading: "Our People's Priceless Asset"]

[Text] We welcome you, dear friends from India, to Moscow, to the Kremlin's ancient ceremonial hall.

The Indian president's current visit to the Soviet land is further convincing evidence of the productive development of multifacated relations between our two states. Relations which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said "can be called exemplary in many senses."

You are known in the Soviet Union, Mr President, as a veteran of the trade union movement and an eminent lawyer, as an editor cum publicist and eminent economist, and as a diplomat and statesman. Throughout your life you have demonstrated that you have been and remain an active fighter for India's freedom. You are widely known for your long-standing and fine support for the development of India's ties with our country, as a person who, in every post he has held, has made a big

personal contribution to strengthening Soviet-Indian cooperation. This multifaceted cooperation is our peoples' priceless asset. We have built up a great deal of experience of collaboration.

Some people in the world even now would like to see India merely as an exotic oriental country. Our view is quite different. We revere the two peoples' unfading values, what they have achieved in modern times, what Soviet people are dedicated to, and what Indian citizens hold dear: The red-stone Kremlin and the snow-white Taj Mahal as the creations of brilliant craftsmen, the Mother Volga and the sacred Ganges as rivers that are providers, the red banner of the Soviet land and the green, white, and saffron flag of the Republic of India as proud symbols of self-reliance and independence.

In relations with your great country, Mr President, Soviet people have always tried to gain a deeper understanding of India and approach its concerns and aspirations with an open heart. I believe that we have arrived at an understanding and knowledge of your country and its desire for progress for the benefit of millions of people. That is why the our friendship has produced the plants in Bhilai and Bokaro, Viashakhapatnam and Ranchi, Durgapur and Hyderabad, and other cities which have grown up or are being erected on Indian soil.

The realities of the nuclear, space era and the scientific-technical revolution, A.A. Gromyko went on, have illumined with exceptional power the interdependent and integral nature of the modern world. In the millennia of its development mankind has accumulated enormous intellectual and material potential. It makes it possible to see the wide-ranging prospects that lie ahead for the ascent of civilization. But, at the same time, the 20th century has given rise to dangers which jeopardize life on earth. The most terrible danger is nuclear weapons.

In these conditions the Soviet Union has called for new political thinking. What it means basically is acknowledging the priority of general human values above all else and creating a security system for the peoples that rules out the use of military force, and, particularly, the use of nuclear weapons in any form.

The Soviet Union and India were the first to introduce into the practice of international relations the new approach to key present-day problems. It was Soviet-Indian contacts that produced the international new thinking document. It was the Delhi Declaration on the Principles of a Nuclear-Free and Nonviolent World. It is a summary of the elements in the different cultures and spiritual traditions that are capable of opening up for mankind the path to a safer and happier future.

Perhaps the new thinking is not gaining supporters as quickly as one would like. Nevertheless, the international climate is improving and one can observe definite changes for the better. The most important are the conclusion of the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and the signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

We are deeply grateful to India for backing the Soviet Union's nuclear disarmament efforts. For our part, we welcome the constructive initiatives on ridding the world of mass-destruction weapons that India has put forward, including those within the framework of the "Group of Six." The "Action Plan to Establish a World Order in Conditions of a Nuclear-Free and Nonviolent World," put forward by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi at the UN General Assembly third special session on disarmament, was a document that had a great international impact.

The conclusion of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan made it possible to start withdrawing Soviet forces from the country. It is true that there are known cases—many, unfortunately—where Pakistan has violated these agreements. These actions place obstacles in the way of a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan and meet with the resolute condemnation of the USSR and many other states.

Moscow values highly the mutual understanding we have with our Indian friends regarding an Afghan settlement and also the solution of the Cambodian problem and elimination of other regional seats of tension. We see this as the implementation of the provisions of the Delhi Declaration and of the accords reached at Soviet-Indian summits.

The transfer of the traditionally broad trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation to a more intensive path of development now has an important part to play in our bilateral relations. Direct links are being established between Soviet and Indian ministries, associations, and firms and measures are being adopted to set up joint enterprises.

We are glad that the Long-Term Program of Scientific-Technical Cooperation and the Long-Term Program of Cooperation in the Sphere of Production Sharing between the USSR and India are being implemented. The coupling of the two countries' economic and scientific-technical potentials on the basis of these programs will contribute to the solution of a number of tasks of internal development in the Soviet Union and India.

At the same time, opportunities are widening for both states' involvement in the international division of labor, in giving advanced technology to third countries. In other words, our cooperation is also intended to help solve a very acute global problem—bridging the gap between the developed and developing states.

The Soviet Union has said many times that its representatives are prepared to meet and have contacts not only at the level of state leaders, ministers, and politicians, but also at the level that is called the "diplomacy of the

people's masses." We are in favor of contacts between trade union, women's, and youth organizations, scientific, cultural, and artistic figures, athletes, tourists, and the broadest strata of our states' citizenry.

The Soviet Union and India are pioneers in this kind of diplomacy. This is demonstrated by the national festivals of India and the Soviet Union, unprecedented in their scale, in which millions of people in both countries were involved.

Artistic festivals have brought our peoples even closer together. They have gone far beyond the confines of bilateral Soviet-Indian relations, showing the way that the mutual enrichment of the original cultures of different peoples can take place.

All this indicates the possibility of elaborating, through the states' joint efforts, an action program that would ensure not just the survival of the human race, but the comprehensive, free development of every people and every human being.

Dear guests! You have come here at a crucial period in the life of the Soviet state. The 19th all-union party conference ended the other day. It was a major political event and it gave powerful new momentum to restructuring, the aim of which is to rid our society of all that is alien, all that does not belong, and all that is outdated and to reveal the mighty potential of the socialist system.

Two key problems determine the future course, the future of restructuring: the democratization of all social life, and radical economic reform. The 19th all-union party conference gave additional political, legal, ideological, and organizational impetus to the deepening of these revolutionary processes.

Dear Indian guests! We are well aware of the big and complex tasks the friendly Indian people are tackling at the moment. We welcome your efforts to ensure that India enters the 21st century a developed state and we are prepared to contribute to the attainment of that noble goal.

How can one assess the significance of Soviet-Indian ties today? In this connection I would like to cite a maxim that has gone down in literature, something said by an ancient sage sitting above the Jamna River, outside the Taj Mahal: "What is this great creation worth?" The old Indian replied: "As much as the sun's rays and the light of the moon." I believe this image is applicable to relations between the USSR and India today. They are priceless. (Applause)

I wish you a pleasant stay in the Soviet Union, a successful tour of our country, interesting meetings, and rich impressions. I am sure the Soviet people everywhere will greet you as most welcome guests.

Allow me to propose a toast to Indian President Venkataraman and his wife and to all the Indian guests.

President Venkataraman Replies

PM0807120788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report of speech by R. Venkataraman, president of India, at 6 July Moscow dinner given in his honor by USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman A.A. Gromyko, replying to Gromyko toast and published with it under the general heading "Our Peoples' Priceless Asset"]

[Text] My wife and I have been deeply touched by the warm welcome and hospitality accorded us. May I convey to you and to the entire Soviet people words of greeting from India's 800-million-strong population and, on my own behalf, thank you for the warm words and sentiments about my country and people.

It is always a great pleasure for me to visit Moscow, to see the majesty of this city, and to feel the friendliness of its citizens. This is not my first visit to your beautiful city and great country. I have been here many times in the past. Each time I have been struck by the scale of the Soviet Union's progress and the activity of its state leadership. Our talks today were typified by sincerity and mutual understanding; they were held in the exclusively cordial atmosphere characteristic of relations between our two countries.

Each high-level exchange of visits between our two countries is a landmark serving the cause of further strengthening our friendship. In the last few decades our relations have steadily and rapidly developed and deepened. This is a remarkable phenomenon which is probably unmatched in the history of relations between two great countries with different political and social systems. However, there is nothing surprising about it, since our two countries have a common goal—world peace—based on traditions rooted in the processes of the development of their material and spiritual resources. Having a common history, we are confident that we will have a common future.

The distinguishing features of our relations are equality, mutual benefit, reciprocal respect, and consideration for each other's interests. The Indian-Soviet Treaty of 1971, in whose conclusion you, Mr President [as published], played a prominent role, marked the consolidation of our friendship. Currently our relations are being replenished. The signing of the Delhi Declaration made it possible to deepen the political mutual understanding between our countries still further. The marked increase in exchanges of visits at top level has been a reflection of this. The marvelous relations established between the two countries' political leaders have influenced contacts between us at all levels and have been resolutely and actively supported during contacts among ordinary people in our two countries.

A special place in these contacts is occupied by the year-long festivals of India and the Soviet Union. The festivals have brought millions of people in the two countries closer together and given a new boost to comprehensive cooperation between us. They have opened up new horizons for cooperation in the sphere of science and technology and made it possible to reveal innovative forms of economic cooperation that promise to boost the scale of our economic exchanges to an unprecedented level. The restructuring taking place in your country has brought about exciting new changes in the economy, social policy, and the political sphere, and it has been reflected in external manifestations of the processes of economic, social, and political development taking place in your country. We in India wish you great successes in implementing your initiatives.

The growing arsenals of exceptionally dangerous mass destruction weapons, particularly nuclear weapons, have made disarmament a problem of concern to the entire world community. As a result of the signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles by General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev and President Reagan in Washington last December and its recent ratification, an important breakthrough has been made in the examination of the nuclear disarmament problem—there has been a switch away from measures to simply regulate the growth in nuclear arms toward the virtual elimination of weapons, in other words, from arms control to actual disarmament. Although the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles only covers a very insignificant part of the nuclear arms existing in the world, it is capable of paving the way to verification procedures which could be used in taking major steps in nuclear disarmament in the future.

The fact that the proposal on 50-percent cuts in strategic nuclear arms still remains unrealized is regrettable. Nonetheless, the continuation of the dialogue on this question is a good sign. India wholly and fully supports such efforts and is fully resolved to strive for the implementation of the goal of complete and universal nuclear disarmament. In this respect we are making our contribution within the framework of the Nonaligned Movement, the Group of Six states, the United Nations, and other international organizations.

Our guiding principle remains the Delhi Declaration on the Principles of a Nonnuclear and Nonviolent World. It embodies the hopes and aspirations of not only our two countries, but all mankind. It is gratifying to see that with the passage of time more and more countries are starting to recognize the cogency and vitality of the ideas contained in that historic document.

We must work out a concept of the framework of a post-nuclear world, develop it, and propagandize it. In this respect extremely valuable ideas were put forward at the recent UN General Assembly third special session on disarmament. The entire world community will now have to consider how to enter the 21st century without nuclear weapons.

"Regional" conflicts continue to rage worldwide. Being "regional" only in the technical sense of the word, they are of global importance under the conditions of our mutually dependent world. Nonetheless, the implementation of a number of major initial steps to end some of these conflicts should be noted.

The Geneva accords on Afghanistan constitute a historic document that opens up a sensible opportunity for restoring peace to our common neighbor's ravaged land. Moreover, it strengthens the United Nations' prestige as a peace-keeping organization. It has to be noted with regret that certain parties to the accords are ignoring both the spirit and letter of the Geneva agreements. Afghanistan above all needs peace and an absence of outside interference in order to allow the Afghan people to independently resolve their own domestic problems and decide their own destiny. It is also indisputable that Afghanistan needs sympathy and help from the world community in securing the return of the millions of refugees who are starting to return home.

The humanitarian and human aspects of the problem should not be forgotten in the pursuit of short-term and often egoistic interests. In this respect India is ready to make its contribution on both a bilateral and multilateral basis. Afghanistan is our neighbor and we cannot remain indifferent to what is happening there, particularly if one bears in mind that the events in Afghanistan directly concern India's security.

India's great interest in maintaining friendly and good-neighborly relations with Pakistan is well known. India has made a number of initiatives to that end. However, the Pakistani Government has not responded to this interest, which is attested by Pakistan's participation in terrorist activities directed against India. These and a number of other negative actions undertaken by Pakistan—such as the secret implementation of a program for the creation of nuclear weapons, for instance—naturally impede the process of normalizing relations between the two countries.

Southern Asia is our home. We must stand above narrow interests and artificial obstacles and so make it possible for the countries of the region to freely determine their future, without outside interference, through joint efforts. It is in this vein that we are conducting dialogue with our neighbors, although this process is sometimes very complex and slow. And it was precisely in this vein that India and Sri Lanka signed an agreement just under a year ago aimed at ending the ethnic conflict on that island. The countries of the region cooperate within the framework of the southern Asia regional cooperation association, whose guiding slogan is collective self-reliance.

The 20th century is unique in the sense that it has witnessed the emergence of a considerable number of independent countries, made interdependence among them a necessity, and paved the way to major scientific and technical achievements and a revolution in the sphere of communications and transportation. All this in turn has required the democratization of relations among states. The situation in today's world is so complex that even the centuries of experience amassed by mankind in the field of diplomatic practice and interstate relations may not provide ready answers. Political thinking should be in step with the changing situation. It is rightly said that wars start in people's minds. But peace also arises from people's minds and hearts. It is the current generation that will have to safeguard our planet's secure future.

In cases such as today's, people seek a source of inspiration in the ideas of people who merit the epithet "great" because of their ideas and vision of the future. Today we seek a source of inspiration in the ideas of Marx, Mahatma Gandhi, Lenin, and Jawaharlal Nehru and in their humanist ideals and ideas. The moral and ethical legacy of world-famous philosophers and figures who have shaped our way of thinking for centuries should now be an important factor of unity rather than disunity. Time demands bold, innovative, and new thinking and new moral norms for relations between states.

Indian-Soviet relations are based on the firm foundation of common values. Both our counties are interested in seeking world peace and security and meeting our two countries' material and spiritual needs. There is no doubt that our relations, based on the firm foundations created by previous gener .ions, have a bright future ahead of them.

In conclusion, the president spoke in favor of the constantly growing friendship between our two peoples and further progress and prosperity for the great Soviet people, and wished A.A. Gromyko and his wife good health and prosperity.

The speeches by A.A. Gromyko and R. Venkataraman were greeted with applause.

The dinner was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Gromyko Speaks at Ceremony

LD0807154988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1236 GMT 8 Jul 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A memorial to Mahatma Gandhi, leader of the Indian people's national liberation struggle, was unveiled in Moscow today at the intersection of Lomonovskiy and Michurinskiy Prospekts. Thousands of Muscovites and guests of the capital attended the ceremony. Taking part in the solemn ceremony were comrades Gromyko and Zaykov, President Ramaswami Venkataraman, Indian Embassy staff, representatives of Moscow party, administrative and social organizations and labor collectives, and Indian students studying in our country.

Opening the ceremony, Comrade Zaykov stressed that the friendship of the Soviet and Indian peoples is a splendid reality of our times. The memorial to Mahatma Gandhi will be yet another symbol of this, an expression of the mutual felow-feeling and respect of the two great peoples. Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko addressed those present:

[Begin Gromyko video recording] Mahatma Gandhi brought into our 20th century, from the 19th, the ideas of the renunciation of force. He became their herald and most consistent supporter, and then preached them. He considered the renunciation of force to be one of the cornerstones of international relations. Under the influence of Gandhism, the tradition of the renunciation of force—which was established during the struggle of the Indian people against colonial rule—became one of the fundamental principles of the Republic of India's foreign policy.

Soviet people frequently speak of the links between eras, of the continuity of generations. It is in this way that we view the contacts between the past and the present, Mahatma Gandhi's ideals, and the philosophy of the new political thinking. It also puts the renunciation of the use of force at the forefront of relations between peoples and states. This approach was most clearly and fully expressed in the Delhi Declaration on the Principles of a Nonnuclear and Nonviolent World, signed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi in November 1986. This document, in its significance, goes far beyond the framework of Soviet-Indian relations. It has become an important stimulus for restructuring in international relations.

We are unveiling the memorial to Mahatma Gandhi in the direct vicinity of the memorial to Indira Gandhi—who by chance bore the same name, but not by chance was a devotee of his ideas. Here also Jawahar Lal Nehru Square was established. Thus a sort of special and deeply significant corner of India in Moscow has been created.

I would like to express the conviction that these memorials—so close to each other—to the great son of India, and its great daughter, will become permanent witnesses to the indestructible and beneficial Soviet-Indian friendship. The monument to Mahatma Gandhi will cause Muscovites to remember always the steadfastness and spiritual strength of a man who was modest in his life, but who is a giant in history. [end recording]

[Announcer] Ramaswami Venkataraman expressed warm greetings to the Soviet people from the people of India. The unveiling of the memorial to Mahatma Gandhi, the president said, is a really worthy culmination of the year-long festival of India in the Soviet

Union. Soviet and Indian sculptors and architects worked in close cooperation on the creation of the memorial. [video shows crowd; Zaykov, Gromyko, and Venkataraman speaking]

Gorbachev Talks Detailed

LD0807164888 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 8 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev met Ramaswami Venkataraman, president of the Republic of India, in the Kremlin today. He welcomed the president as a good old friend of our country, who has done a lot in cooperation with Jawahar Lal Nehru, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi for the relations between the two countries to become as they are today.

The visit by the president is linked with the completion of the festival of India in the USSR, which has considerably brought closer the two peoples. "This was a veritable 'invasion' by India of the Soviet Union and we welcome this invasion", Gorbachev noted.

"Simultaneously, the visit became part of the regular dialogue between the Soviet and Indian leaders, one more contribution to the development of bilateral relations. They are based on the identical popular interests of the two great states", Gorbachev stressed. "And if the similarity of the philosophies and spiritual closeness are added to them, all this taken together enriches the relations between the two peoples, ensures mutual understanding and trust, forges the reliability of their ties".

The president and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee exchanged information on the state of the two countries' economies. In view of this, they touched upon some issues of Soviet-Indian economic cooperation, evaluated positively its prospects, specifically, in power engineering.

In exchanging views on this subject and on some internal political problems, among them those of the ethnic nature, they noted the similarity of the problems proper and the approaches to their solution at the present dynamic stage of the development of both countries, which confirms the importance of a constant exchange of opinions and experience.

The interlocutors repeatedly reverted to the outcome of the 19th CPSU conference. People in India understand all of its importance, and not only to the Soviet Union, the president holds. Sharing the impressions of the conference, Gorbachev noted, in part, that "it demonstrated a powerful support for perestroyka (restructuring) as well as highlighted weaknesses and difficulties of which the core one is commitment to the old way of thinking, to the old forms of the organisation of things, what we call conservatism".

"It has become ever more evident to what extent it is essential to solve promptly the vital issues which affect people's day-to-day interests and simultaneously to make ground for movement ahead both in the basis and the superstructure".

"The strongest impression I have got from the conference is the clearly expressed will by the people to impart an irrevertible nature to perestroyka and the fact that both delegates and those on whose behalf they spoke already do not wait that a solution to problems will come somewhere from above [as received]—it hinges on themselves, each collective, each person on his job, his responsibility and ability to do his work. This feeling of the people and in the party that all and everyone should take part in perestroyka imparts confidence that the process of transformations will be gaining momentum".

"We have gone through great days which also clarified the evaluation of the situation and gave firm conviction that perestroyka will be picking up".

As the international situation was discussed, the sides confirmed that they see eye to eye on such major events as the Soviet-American summit in Moscow and its specific results and expressed a common interest in better relations between the USSR and the United States.

Gorbachev and Venkataraman stressed the significance of the Delhi Declaration of 1986, which is known today around the world and the ideas of which are present in all the significant international initiatives.

Mighty India is active on the world scene, offering to humanity the prospect of comprehensive cooperation, a non-violent world, non-interference and respect for independence. Its role in the Asian and Pacific region, whose significance in the progress of modern civilization keeps growing, is immense.

"We appreciate the high level of mutual understanding and interaction between the Soviet leadership and the leadership of India with Rajiv Gandhi at the head," Gorbachev said.

"That our thoughts go in the same direction, though our formulated positions are completely independent, has been borne out again at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament, where the Soviet concept and the plan for action to establish a nuclear-free and non-violent world set forth by Rajiv Gandhi, sounded in unison.

"Thanks to that the disarmament process has received another palpable impulse," Gorbachev said.

Naturally enough, the progress of an Afghanistan settlement was discussed as well and the concurrence of views was confirmed in that highly important international issue too. The Pakistani violations of the Geneva agreements were given an assessment.

Complete understanding was voiced for India's serious concern over enormous military supplies to Pakistan from the United States, which obviously exceed defense needs.

Gorbachev assured the president—and asked that he relay it to Gandhi—that "in all that we do we shall act in a way meeting both the Soviet and the Indian interests, both now and in the future. We shall continue keeping constantly in touch with the Indian leadership and take counsel with them".

The president conveyed greetings to Mikhail Gorbachev and the Soviet people from Rajiv Gandhi and the 800 million Indians.

Gorbachev, for his part, asked Venkataraman on behalf of the Soviet people to convey greetings to Prime Minister Gandhi and the Indian people. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 9 July 1988 in its Second Edition, in a similar report on the Gorbachev-Venkataraman meeting, adds that: "Ambassador T.N. Kaul participated in the meeting."]

Leaders Attend Festival

LD0807174988 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 8 TASS—The Festival of India in the USSR closed in a ceremony in the Soviet capital today. The festival lasted for a whole year. Two thousand concerts, 20 exhibitions, 15 seminars and numerous meetings of the public were held within its framework. They enabled the Soviet people to get a better idea of ancient and modern India, its history, art, problems and achievements.

Ramaswami Venkataraman, president of India, and his wife, Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and his wife were present at the festival closing ceremony.

Soviet party functionaries and statesmen Vitaliy Vorotnikov, Lev Zaykov, Eduard Shevardnadze, Petr Demichev, Anatoliy Dobrynin, and other Soviet and Indian officials were in the same box.

Andrey Gromyko read out an address by Mikhail Gorbachev to the participants in the ceremony. An address by Rajiv Gandhi, prime minister of India, was also read out.

Andrey Gromyko and Ramaswami Venkataraman delivered speeches at the ceremony.

The festival was the first of its kind in the history of the spiritual contact between the peoples of the USSR and India.

Gromyko Reads Gorbachev Message

LD0907125488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Address by Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at conclusion of 'Festival of India' in Moscow on 8 July—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President, esteemed Indian friends, Comrades: Permit me, first of all, to read out a message of greeting from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to those attending the solemn closing ceremony of the Festival of India in the USSR:

Dear friends: The Festival of India in the Soviet Union, which has lasted for a whole year, is coming to an end. It has passed through many towns in our vast country and has left no one indifferent. We have been the witnesses of a colorful and impressive festival of friendship and peace. Great India itself, and its ancient and unique culture with its outstanding achievements during the years of independence, came to our house. During that time, we have become even more closely acquainted with the lofty spiritual values and ideals of that diverse power, strong in its unity. We have felt more fully the pulse of its life today. We have found out more about the Indians' thoughts and aspirations. Thousands of Soviet citizens have been spectators at and direct participants in the Festival of India.

It can be said that the Soviet people have conversed directly, without intermediaries, with the Indian people. This is a manifestation of people's diplomacy, which humanizes international relations, makes them more humane and democratic, exerts a salutary influence not just on Soviet-Indian relations, but also on the whole moral climate on our planet, and strengthens the potential for peace, reasons, and goodwill. The Festival of India in the USSR reinforced with practical deeds the ideas of the Delhi Declaration of 1986, which calls for the building of a nonviolent and nonnuclear world, and for cooperation in the field of culture, art, and science. The festival has ended, but we are not saying goodbye to our Indian friends. In India, the festival of the Soviet Union is continuing, and we say: Until we meet again. [signed] Mikhail Gorbachev [applause]

A solemn and, to some extent, sad moment has arrived, that of bidding farewell to the Festival of India in the Soviet Union. The unprecedented festival of the two friendly countries continued for a year on our soil. It presented Soviet people with unforgettable encounters with the great people of an ancient and eternally youthful India, with its splendid art and culture. For the first time in the history of spiritual contact between peoples such a festival took place. We are certain that this celebration of

culture has not only left memories of the splendid dancers from Delhi and Madras on the stages of Moscow and Leningrad, of the performances of Indian ensembles in Soviet towns, and of Bengali lights lit in Siberia.

The festival has resurrected the belief that it is not for nothing that, over many centuries, our peoples have nourished friendly feelings for one another both in hard years of trial and at moments of joy. On the basis of the practice of friendly Soviet-Indian relations, and as a result of the fruitful dialogue between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi, a new political thinking has been born with regard to the ties between the Soviet Union and India. This thinking raises the two states' interactions to a qualitatively new level, and has enabled our countries to formulate jointly the principles for a nonnuclear and nonviolent world.

The Soviet-Indian Festival has demonstrated vividly and on a large scale the powerful creative potential of the Indian people in its diversity. Millions of Soviet people have come into contact with the treasures of the soul and reason of India. Throughout the Soviet land—from the Turkmen town of Mary to polar Murmansk, from Transcarpathian Uzhgorod to Pacific Vladivostok—in 150 towns of the Soviet land, in all our union republics, events forming part of the Soviet-Indian festival have taken place.

The grand scale of this is impressive. The most varied strata of Soviet society—workers, kolkhozniks, scientists, and cultural figures, young people, women, and children—have familiarized themselves with the creative forces of modern India. Our people have received the opportunity to get to know the broad spectrum of the life of the Indian people, ranging from masterpieces of art dating back 5,000 years to successes of India in space exploration. But nevertheless we consider that the direct contacts with Indian friends at all levels, from prime minister and president to students and children and the open and involved discussion of problems pertaining to the present day and the fates of today's civilization, are the main content of the festival.

The democratism of the festival and its breadth and openness have been in harmony with the times that the Soviet Union is experiencing, with the era of restructirng and of the development of glasnost and democracy and, in a nutshell, with the whole movement forward, a powerful impetus to which was imparted by the 19th all-union party conference. This harmony between the festival and specific affairs and tasks also constitutes its profound meaning.

The festival has confirmed with fresh force our historical optimism and faith in the bright future of peoples and of the whole of earthly civilization. May the inviolable Soviet-Indian friendship forever gain in strength. May peace triumph on earth. [applause]

Departure for Leningrad

LD0907082888 Moscow TASS in English 0824 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 9 TASS—Indian President Ramaswami Venkataraman left Moscow for Leningrad today. He is staying in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government on an official friendly visit.

At Vnukovo Airport the Indian leader and his wife were seen off by Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, his wife and other officials.

Sri Lankan President on Indian, Soviet Aid

LD0907210988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 8 Jul 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko; interview with Sri Lankan President Jayewardene by correspondent Boris Levchenko in Colombo, date not given—recorded in English with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Levchenko] Mr President, what is your assessment of the situation in Sri Lanka?

[Jayewardene] The political situation has stabilized to a certain extent.

[Levchenko] What can you say about India's role in promoting a peaceful solution of Sri Lanka's problems?

[Jayewardene] Rajiv Gandhi has provided great assistance. Earlier the terrorists were receiving aid, especially from the state of Tamil Nadu. The situation changed after Rajiv Gandhi signed the agreement with the Sri Lanka Government. A favorable thing for our country was that Indian troops were sent here. They undertook the task of confronting the terrorists. Approximately 500 Indian soldiers have been killed and thousands wounded, and it has cost a considerable amount, but I believe that the terrorist group that was being confronted, the Liberation Tigers of Tamir Eelam, has now reached the final stage of its activities. This has been achieved thanks to the great aid received from India.

[Levchenko] What is your assessment of the state of relations between Sri Lanka and the Soviet Union?

[Jayewardene] Our relations have always been most friendly, although we have different political systems and ideologies. If one is speaking of our relations with world powers as a whole, then they are equally useful, friendly and important.

[Levchanko] What do you think of the prospects for the development of ties between our countries, particularly in the sphere of economy and trade?

[Jayewardene] The Soviet Union has already been involved in our country in the construction of a steel foundry and a number of other industrial installations. We hope that it will also take part in the implementation of the project for the development of the Mahaweli area.

[Levchenko] What would you like to say to the Soviet people now watching this program, and what would you like to wish them?

[Jayewardene] The Soviet Union is one of the most important countries in the world and is developing a new system of state power, which many of us regard with admiration and sympathy, although we may not accept everything that is taking place in your country. I was in the Soviet Union in 1983 as a guest of parliament and visited many cities. So I know how friendly your people are. So let us preserve the friendship beween our countries.

UN's Cordovez Visits Afghanistan, Pakistan

Kabul Talks Characterized

LD0907133588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] The visit to Kabul of Diego Cordovez, special representative of the UN secretary general is at an end. Our correspondent, Aleksandr Shkirando, reports from the capital of Afghanistan.

[Shkirando] Before this visit, Diego Cordovez visited Tehran and Islamabad. The basic aim of his trip to the region is to facilitate the successful implementation of the Geneva agreements. Today, before leaving Kabul, Diego Cordovez made the following statement.

[Begin Cordovez recording in English, fading to Russian translation] I believe my visit was a very useful one. My talks with the foreign minister and with the president of the Republic of Afghanistan passed off in an exceptionally contructive and businesslike atmosphere. I also met with representatives of the guarantor countries of the Geneva agreements in both Islamabad and Kabul. I had a meeting with representatives of the command of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan. I am very satisfied that the withdrawal is proceeding to plan and without any disruptions, in full accordance with the Geneva agreements.

During the present visit, we discussed a number of serious problems and difficulties encountered in implementing these agreements and I hope that as a result of my meetings in Kabul and Islamabad, compliance with the Geneva agreements in the future will proceed more successfully. [end recording]

[Shkirando] In answer to questions from correspondents, Diego Cordovez stressed that he is not a mediator between hostile sides in Afghanistan. He also stated the inadmissibility of any foreign intervention in Afghan affairs. Diego Cordovez condemned the acts of terrorism to which Afghan extremists have been having particularly frequent recourse of late.

Departs for Islamabad

LD0807110988 Moscow TASS in English 1051 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 8 TASS—Diego Cordovez, the U.N. secretary-general's special representative of the Afghanistan settlement, left Kabul for Islamabad today.

Cordovez told newsmen that he viewed the talks in Afghanistan as successful.

He highly estimated his discussions with Afghan President Najibullah and Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil. Meetings with the Soviet ambassador, the U.S. charge d'affaires and Soviet military commanders were also useful.

The U.N. representative said that they had discussed complexities in the way of the Geneva accords. In his view, these accords would be implemented more effectively after his talks in Kabul and Islamabad.

He also said that the Afghan Government firmly adhered to all provisions of the agreements. He specially observed that the withdrawal of Soviet troops was being carried out strictly in keeping with the schedule.

Cordovez stated that his goal was to assist in settling external aspects of the conflict. As to the political set-up in Afghanistan, he said, it was up to the Afghans themselves. Interference in their domestic matters would be illegal, he added.

Asked about a series of blasts and the shelling of Kabul during his stay in the Afghan capital, the U.N. representative denounced these acts.

He resolutely opposed any actions leading to human casualties, to the death of civilians. "I hate terrorism," he stated.

Satisfied With Trip

LD1007020488 Moscow TASS in English 2101 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Islamabad July 9 TASS—U.N. special envoy Diego Cordovez, who is making a tour of Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan to promote the settlement of the Afghan problem, gave a news conference here today.

He said that the main goal of his trip was to review the U.N. observers' progress and discuss the implementation of the Geneva accords with representatives of the United Nations and the countries which had participated in the Geneva talks, including the Soviet Union and the United States.

Cordovez's arrival in the region was also caused by some difficulties which had arisen in implementing the Geneva accords.

He expressed the hope that these problems, although expected, be resolved.

At the same time, facts showed that the Geneva accords were being implemented and all sides concerned voiced their determination to sincerely implement the accords in full measure.

Cordovez expressed satisfaction with the fact that all the problems discussed during the trip had been settled, which would facilitate the process of carrying out the Geneva accords up to their full implementation.

He said that during his meetings in Kabul with Afghan leaders and representatives of the Soviet Military Command he had been informed about progress in the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

He noted with satisfaction that the withdrawal was proceeding as planned and without delays.

On the problem of minefields in Afghanistan, the U.N. envoy said he was told in Kabul that they had been laid exclusively to ensure security of such major facilities as airports, electric power stations and so on.

No mines were laid on roads to be used by returning Afghan refugees.

200 minefields with detailed maps had been transferred under the control of the Afghan Army by now, he said.

At the same time, large amounts of mines had been laid by armed opposition forces and their location was not known.

A Soviet military representative told Cordovez in Kabul that more than two million mines and explosive devices had been destroyed by late May during the clearing of opposition-mined Afghan territory.

Shevardnadze Meets UN Afghan Aid Official

LD0807175488 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 8 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, today received Sadruddin Agha Khan, coordinator for the U.N. humanitarian and economic assistance relating to Afghanistan who has arrived in Moscow on a business visit.

Agha Khan briefed the Soviet minister on steps being taken to work out and organize under the U.N. aegis a comprehensive program for emergency aid to Afghanistan, in which a wide circle of nations is planned to be involved.

The Soviet side spoke highly of noble U.N. efforts to mobilize extensive international assistance to Afghanistan to help returning refugees settle down in their fatherland anew and to rehabilitate and develop the economy.

It was stressed that early practical measures in this direction would help normalize the situation and restore peace throughout Afghanistan.

Shevardnadze told Agha Khan about many-sided Soviet assistance to Afghanistan in economic and social fields, which takes into the account both the immediate needs of that country and its long-term development plans.

He noted that the USSR has already allocated 305 million rubles as aid to returning refugees and to other needy sections of the Afghan population.

As part of their direct contacts with Afghan provinces and cities, Soviet republics, regions and cities have given them over 60 million rubles in assistance. Significant help is being provided in such fields as irrigation and road building.

As they withdraw from Afghanistan, Soviet troops leave various buildings, workshops, transportation and medical equipment to the Afghans.

Over the years of Soviet-Afghan cooperation some 100,000 Afghan specialists and skilled workers have been trained with the assistance of the Soviet side.

The latter reiterated its intention to cooperate with the international machinery being set up as part of the emergency aid program in giving and delivering humanitarian aid meant for Afghanistan.

Agha Khan voiced gratitude to the Soviet side for its expressed constructive attitude to the issue of granting international aid to Afghanistan.

The meeting passed in a warm and businesslike atmosphere.

'Concrete Assistance' Offered

LD0907121088 Moscow TASS in English 1138 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 9 TASS—On July 6-8 Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR foreign minister, and Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, had in Moscow talks with Agha Khan, coordinator for the U.N. humanitarian and economic assistance relating to Afghanistan.

The two sides agreed on the necessity to render urgent humanitarian assistance to the needy people of Afghanistan.

The Soviet side showed firm intention to help the special coordinator in difficult negotiations by rendering concrete assistance.

Necessary multilateral aid will be rendered through the board of the special coordinator's fund and administration on fulfilling the resolution of the U.N. secretary general of June 10, 1988.

Specific aspects of Soviet humanitarian assistance are being drafted by experts and will be made known in the near future.

This will be an important step of the Soviet side in support of the coordinator's activities.

Gromov Discusses Afghan Withdrawal, Army Training
PM1107105188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jul 88 First Edition pp 1-2

[Interview in Kabul with Lieutenant General B. Gromov, commander of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan, by correspondents Colonel G. Miranovich and Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik: "Withdrawal Is Being Effected on Schedule"; date not given]

[Text] Kabul—[Correspondents] Comrade Lieutenant General, when you addressed the 19th all-union party conference, you gave a brief description of the situation which has taken shape in Afghanistan since the signing of the Geneva agreements. We should like to speak of some points in more detail. As is well known, by 15 August 50 percent of the contingent of our troops should have been withdrawn from Afghanistan. May it confidently be said that that will be the case, if you consider that there are forces both within and outside the country which are doing everything to prevent the implementation of the Geneva agreements?

[Gromov] Yes, the withdrawal is being effected in strict accordance with the Geneva agreements, under the schedule we elaborated. In the course of the first month following 15 May thousands of Soviet servicemen returned to the motherland. A large quantity of equipment and weaponry has been withdrawn. As of today, there is not a single soldier of ours in Afghanistan's eastern and southeastern provinces. In particular, UN military observers kept track of their withdrawal in Jalalabad, Gardeyz, Ghazni, Towraghondi, and Hayraton.

But we also know that even before the signing of the Geneva document, the leaders of the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven," who are given food and shelter by the United States, Pakistan, and several other countries, had said for all to hear that they would never agree with their provisions but would, on the contrary, step up their armed resistance. And indeed, as our troops have withdrawn from the provinces bordering on Pakistan, the opposition's desire to expand the fratricidal war is becoming increasingly marked. There are numerous facts which confirm that the Pakistani side does not intend to observe the spirit and letter of the Geneva agreements. Training centers for training the rebels still function on Pakistani territory and there is an enormous number of military bases and depots there. At the same time, new military establishments and even roads from deep inside the country to the border with Afghanistan are being constructed. The aim of these preparations is obvious: the creation of conditions for increasing the volumes and accelerating the delivery of weapons and ammunition. Meanwhile, Pakistani advisers are taking part in the organization, in Baghlan Province, of the main staff of the "Pamir" zone which, according to the design of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" headquarters in Peshawar, should lead the activity of the opposition's armed detachments in Baghlan, Takhar, Konduz, and Badakhshan provinces.

Measures continue to be taken aimed at preventing the return of Afghan refugees. The number of shelling attacks and acts of subversion is increasing. In Kabul, Nangarhar, Paktia, Qandahar, and Zabol provinces, the number of rebels trained and instructed in Pakistan has increased.

Nonetheless, strenuous work connected with the withdrawal of troops is continuing at the headquarters of the contingent and in the units. We are prepared to continue strictly and precisely to fulfill the provisions of the Geneva agreements. Although I do not rule out that the unceasing violations of these provisions by Pakistan may lead, as the recent USSR Foreign Ministry statement indicated, to the point where the relevant conclusions will be drawn regarding the schedule for the troops' withdrawal...

[Correspondents] The withdrawal of thousands of men and a large quantity of equipment under what we shall call specific conditions requires corresponding preparation and backup organization. How are the questions connected with this being resolved?

[Gromov] A march, especially if it is accomplished in anticipation of an enemy attack—and it is under these conditions that our convoys most often have to advance—requires particularly painstaking preparation. The main task which we are setting ourselves in organizing each march is protecting people and preventing losses. Naturally the emphasis in the contingent's activity now is on cover forces service, the protection of communications, and the defense of important strategic targets.

There are many features in the organization of the marches connected with the troops' withdrawal and you cannot describe everything. But here are a few details. For instance, the preparation of equipment. Some of it, as you know, is at posts, where vehicles are little used. That is why before the march we are checking them for the run. We are carrying out the relevant exercises with drivers and driver-mechanics. We are having to rehearse the most diverse matters—from the organization of repair and the evacuation of equipment under combat conditions to the personnel's observance of water discipline.

With a view to maintaining the withdrawing troops at a high level of combat readiness, together with the organization of their combat support, the corresponding organization of leisure, catering, and medical services is required. We are setting up catering points and field bath houses at night rest points along the routes. The political workers and rear services workers are doing a lot to satisfy the troops' requirements for water and some foods and to resolve other questions. Everything necessary is being concentrated in advance at those garrisons preparing for withdrawal. Mobile stores and temporary kiosks are operating at night rest points.

The servicemen's health is under the medical personnel's unremitting attention. There are temporarily assigned [neshtatnyye] medical instructors in every subunit. If sick and wounded men are to be evacuated, the relevant duty forces and facilities are provided for, concentrated at the airfields closest to the routes.

We are using the rest points as unique ideological work centers. Agitation centers are operating here, there are technical propaganda means, and a sufficient quantity of the necessary reference material describing the 19th all-union party conference and the decisions taken at it. As is the case wherever combat tasks are being resolved, unit and subunit political workers and representatives of the contingent's political section are operating actively at the rest points.

To maintain equipment in a state of constant combat readiness, we are creating special repair teams which can carry out not only running repairs but also, in part, field repairs. In brief, matters have been organized so that any aid can be rendered to those in need of it while they are on the move.

Our first convoys have withdrawn from Afghanistan without losses. And considerable credit here goes to those who organized the marches and provided backup for them—the staff commanders, political workers, and officers and the service specialists. For instance, men like Colonels V. Dybskiy, G. Bondarev, N. Yelovik, V. Avlasenko, and V. Yevnevich, Lieutenant Colonel S. Sukhorukov, Major V. Tadzhibov, and many others. Of course, their experience is being used actively in preparing the next convoys for withdrawal. Here we consider the situation which is taking shape around our troops' withdrawal and realize that its next stages may be harder. We are prepared for this.

[Correspondents] All Soviet people are worried by the problem of releasing the servicemen who have been taken prisoner or have gone missing. What is being done to ensure that they all return to the motherland?

[Gromov] This work is under way. And actively under way. And in many directions, including at the state level. Unfortunately, we cannot as yet describe the specific steps which are being taken—that could harm the matter. But there are results. For instance, in the middle of June, as KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported, one of our soldiers was returned to Soviet military representatives in the Qandahar region. He was military driver Private A. Patakhanov, who had been captured by the rebels during an attack on a convoy of ours this spring. I talked with him. While he was being held prisoner, the soldier did not discredit the honor of the Soviet man and staunchly withstood all the ordeals which were his lot.

In close contact with the competent organs of the Republic of Afghanistan, the contingent command will continue to take every possible step for the return to the motherland of all our servicemen. I believe that this will be greatly promoted by the recent statement made on the Soviet state's behalf by USSR Prosecutor General A.Ya. Sukharev. The statement stressed that all servicemen returning from captivity from foreign countries will enjoy to the full all the constitutional rights of USSR citizens. And, proceeding from the supreme considerations of socialist humanism,, we will grant an amnesty to those who, to the detriment of our state, having failed to withstand enemy propaganda and succumbing to the tortures and deprivations of captivity, committed unlawful actions..

[Correspondents] Boris Vsevolodovich, what problems connected with restructuring in the country and the Armed Forces stemming from the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference perturb you particularly?

[Gromov] Of course, as a Communist and internationalist serviceman, I welcomed with gratitude the warm words addressed from the conference rostrum to the soldiers, officers, and civilians of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan. This augments our efforts, strengthens our faith in the sanctity of the idea of internationalism, and inspires us. At the same time what we heard and experienced at the conference makes more acute our perception of unresolved problems. As a man who has served several years on Afghan soil, I am particularly perturbed by, for instance, the problem of the officer corps' vocational training. I should like every officer to know how to wage a modern battle, to train and educate people, and to maintain firm order on the sector entrusted to him. Unfortunately, we have not yet achieved this. And here it must be said frankly that the restructuring process has not yet penetrated all links of the management apparatus. The influence of the leaders who are Communists, of the political organs, and of the party organizations on the state of combat readiness and military discipline in units and subunits must and can be far more effective. What is necessary for this? Above all that every man should conscientiously perform the matter assigned to him.

I think mention should also be made of our general omissions in young people's all-around preparation for army service. This is a matter of principle. I am sure that we would succeed in avoiding many of the problems which arise in army and navy collectives if all future

defenders of the fatherland were to join the ranks spiritually and physically healthy, unpampered, unspoilt by excessive care, tempered by responsibility and labor, and armed with the knowledge and skills necessary to the soldier from the first days of this service. In that sense the idea of the qualitative parameters of our defense building seems to me a uniquely ample one.

In conclusion I want to say that the problems facing our country today are particularly close and understandable to all us internationalist servicemen and that we understand the need for revolutionary transformations and, together with all Soviet people, are prepared to fight for restructuring.

Molchanov on Accords Violations, Troop Withdrawal

LD0907232488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 9 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Molchanov commentary]

[Text] If the shoots of the new thinking are apparent here, then in another spot on the planet things are not going as we would like. For this reason, today it is more than appropriate to raise the question: How is the practical implementation of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan proceeding? On the one hand, the withdrawal of Soviet troops, long awaited by all of us, is proceeding strictly on schedule. On the other hand, some Western radio stations and newspapers have probably decided that we only assert glasnost with regard to our internal problems. This is not so, and for this reason allow me to bring glasnost to just a few cases of unpardonable violation of the Geneva accords by Pakistan.

Every week the rebels carry out an average of 60 to 90 shellings of towns and villages in Afghanistan, and this means that people are constantly being killed. Every one of the Afghan refugees in the camps, if he agrees to join the ranks of the mujahidin, is granted a monthly salary of 10-14,000 afghanis. This is, by the way, nearly the monthly salary of a minister in the Republic of Afghanistan.

In Peshawar, with the participation of the Pakistani authorities, the so-called "death battalions" are formed from the ranks of Afghan religious fanatics. Dressed in white uniforms like a shroud, they take part in the most bitter of the combat operations against government troops. The transfer of arms and ammunition from Pakistan to the bands of rebels is constantly going on. Cordons of rebels have been set up on the roads along which the Afghan refugees return home; they beat up the Afghans and force them to turn back to the camps. The military committee of the extremist Islamic Party of Afghanistan has told two of its military groups in the Qandahar region to organize ambushes on the road from Qandahar to the airport for the purpose of capturing Soviet soldiers.

All of this is manifest in obvious violations of the Geneva accords by Pakistan. So any political observer in this situation should not exclude the probability of the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan really drawing the appropriate conclusions with regard to the schedule for the return of Soviet troops, which was spoken of in the recent statement by the USSR Foreign Ministry.

French, Chinese Aid to Afghan Rebels Detailed

LD0807213888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1002 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Kabul, 8 Jul (TASS)—The Geneva agreements on Afghanistan are being sabotaged, not only by the Pakistani Government but also by some other states which are continuing to interfere in Afghan affairs. France is particularly active in this area. For instance, there is a training center for diversionary and terrorist matters near Paris. A group of six members of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" (ISA) which went through a complete "course" there returned to Peshawar about a month ago, on 13 June. French camaramen, whose task includes filming their "graduates" on Afgh. territory, arrived with them. Three journalists penetrated into the province of Qandahar where, while simultaneously filming combat operations of the "mujahidin," they are shooting a film on the "damage" allegedly being inflicted on the country by Soviet forces. A large number of French military advisers have also been noted in Afghanistan. Two advisers from France were killed and one was injured recently during an Afghan Air Force raid on rebel formations near Qalat. [passage omitted on interference by the United States and Saudi Arabia]

The PRC authorities delivered a large consignment of small arms—1,200 Chinese-produced automatic weapons—to the ISA. In the trucks which arrived in Peshawar there were also 30 missiles and 30 machine guns and mortars. The weapons were loaded on other means of transport and sent the same day to Quetta with the aim of then shipping to Herat province.

Latest Kabul Bombing, Other Attacks Reported

Civilian Attacks Increase

PM0807141188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 88 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Crime After Crime"]

[Text] Kabul, 7 Jul—After an automobile was blown up in the morning resulting in human casualties, Afghan extremists committed a further crime mid-evening against the peaceful population of Kabul. Another 7 people died, including women and children, and 19 were wounded as a result of their bombardment of the city. A number of houses and public buildings, including a mosque, were also damaged by 12 rocket projectiles which landed on various areas of Kabul.

The regional center of Khas Konar in Konarha Province came under missile bombardment. Two people were wounded and material damage was caused. This afternoon there was another explosion in downtown Kabul. Unknown persons detonated a large car bomb. Casualties resulted from this barbaric action. Considerable damage was caused to buildings located near the scene of the explosion. Several passing automobiles were also damaged.

Commenting on these events, BAKHTAR pointed out that following the conclusion of the Geneva agreements, intransigent antigovernment groups have stepped up their terrorist activity against the civilian population. In the last 2 months alone, approximately 200 people have been killed or wounded by car bombs or rockets.

Reports have come in from a number of Afghan provinces regarding successful combat operations conducted by the republic's Armed Forces against antigovernment groupings. In particular, another three extremist detachments have been eliminated in Zabol Province.

German Journalist Wounded

PM0807155588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[Dispatch by correspondents Colonel G. Miranovich and Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik: "Stepping Up Terror"]

[Text] Kabul, 7 Jul—The explosion occurred at dawn, at 0415. The charge had been placed in a Reket [name as published] light vehicle usually used for transporting various goods between Pakistan and Afghanistan. The major explosion killed 7 people and injured 27. They included two women.

Following the morning explosion, at approximately 1600 a number of districts of Kabul were subjected to rocket fire. During the shelling 7 people died and 19 were injured. Several apartment blocks and public buildings, including a mosque, were damaged.

One shell exploded in Payda-Kodzha Street, near the building where West German journalist Nikolas Domenik [name as published] was working, representing the YUNIK [name as published] Press Agency. This is already his second week in Afghanistan covering the events taking place here. A rocket fragment hit him in the thigh. Domenik was sent urgently to the Soviet military hospital in Kabul, where he was operated on. When we visited him, the West German journalist said he felt well and expressed profound gratitude to the Soviet military physicians. He also pointed out that the Soviet Union and Afghanistan are scrupulously fulfilling the Geneva agreements, while Pakistan, the United States, and other Western countries are seeking to hinder their realization in every possible way. Wishing Domenik a speedy recovery, we left the hospital. But a few hours later there was a mighty explosion outside the building, which badly damaged the hospital. There were no casualties.

In their criminal actions the extremists rely on the assistance of people who, in violation of the Geneva agreements, are supplying them with weapons, placing training camps and instructors at their disposal, and widening the psychological war against Afghanistan. The new barbarous acts have aroused the anger and indignation of all honest people in this long-suffering country.

Provincial Operations Outlined

LD0807135988 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 8 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin:

A group of 32 men have given up their fight against the Afghan Government in Sar-e Pol Province, reports from the area say.

They were joined by 12 families who returned to normal life from remote mountain regions.

Overall, more than 500 armed opposition group members ceased resistance in the past seven days.

At the same time, many opposition units subscribing to extremist views are continuing and even stepping up hostilities. Some of them suffered a devastating blow in Vardak Province where dozens of insurgents were killed in one week.

Afghan troops captured large quantities of weapons, including 11 rocket launchers, 14 mortars, three recoilless guns and hundreds of rifles and submachine-guns.

Afghan Armed Forces are continuing mopping-up operations in Nangarhar Province. Army units routed a group of mujahidins in Sorhrud [name as received] District the other day, killing 36 rebels and seizing 20 ground-to-ground rockets and other weapons.

Frontier troops destroyed another group of mujahidins in Haski Mina [name as received] District.

Security forces eliminated armed extremists operating in Mohmand Darrah. The mujahidins lost in the fighting nine men killed and five wounded. A rocket launcher, a mortar and one large-calibre machine-gun were captured.

The provinces of Qandahar, Paktia, Paktika and Zabol suffered most from armed activity. The situation is worsening in Asmar district near Asadabad (Konarha) due to the shelling of the district centre and security posts.

Many civilians are fleeing to mountains, setting up shelter in caves or holes. The food situation has worsened, foci of epidemics are emerging and there are many cases of malaria.

Many "internal" refugees recall with warmth the times when Soviet units deployed in these areas secured order and tranquility and protected the peaceful life of the local population.

The command of the armed opposition is working out far-reaching plans to conduct military operations and capture administrative centres. Weapons and munitions for the rebels are supplied from the depots of the Pakistani Armed Forces.

8 Jul Jalalabad Explosion

LD0807163888 Moscow TASS in English 1614 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 8 TASS—A powerful explosion in central Jalalabad, a city in the eastern Afghan Province of Nangarhar, killed 31 persons, most of them children, women and old people, BAKHTAR news agency reported.

The blast, which left no structure standing within dozens of meters, was set off by Afghan extremists who exploded a car bomb outside a movie house.

Besides those killed, another 33 people were taken to hospital in grave condition. Some 30 motor vehicles burned down after being set on fire by the explosion.

In another attack, anti-government elements fired heavy weapons on the populated locality of Rude-Ahmadzai [name as received], Paktia Province. One person was killed and several houses were destroyed by a blaze triggered off by the shelling.

'Extremists' Gas 40 Peasants

LD0907093088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0840 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul, 9 Jul (TASS)—Toxins have been used against civilian inhabitants of the village of Zargushan (Logar Province) by bandits from the extremist "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" group. Pakistani advisers present at this outrage filmed the corpses of 40 peasants in order subsequently to accuse Soviet troops of the crime. But according to information from competent bodies, the villagers blamed a band led by persons called Tur and Karim. The atrocity by the "Comrades-in-Arms of the Holy War" aroused the indignation of members of a nearby detachment from another opposition group, and a clash occurred between the two armed groups.

Perfilyev Denies Afghan Rebel Successes

PM0807133188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "At the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] At a 6 July briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center, the attention of journalists was drawn to Pakistani violations of the Geneva accords and to the criminal actions of the Afghan armed opposition.

Preparations to replenish rebel detachments, V.P. Perfilyev, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, said, are continuing on Pakistani territory. Thus, for example, a new "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" training center has been set up in the region of Kalal-ar Kalan [name as published] (near Rawalpindi). Some 2,500 men can be trained there in warfare simultaneously. Some 30 rebels from Oruzgan Province recently joined the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan's" "Dzhandallakh" [name as published] Regiment (according to the South Waziristan Agency) to attend crash training courses for members of demolition squads. The Pakistani authorities are continuing to give active assistance to the "Alliance of Seven" in transferring weapons and ammunition to the neighboring country's territory.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman denied Western news agency reports that the center of Vardak Province—the city of Maydan Shahr—has supposedly been destroyed as a result of Soviet and Afghan air raids. Detachments of the armed opposition made an attempt to capture that city, V.P. Perfilyev reported, but actions by Sarandoy forces put a stop to it. The city is under government control, and there has been no destruction there. Another agency report alleging that antigovernment armed formations have captured the city of Paghman, 17 km from Kabul, does not correspond to reality either. Military confrontation is taking place between government troops and detachments of the armed opposition, but to date not one population center has been surrendered to them.

In this connection the Foreign Ministry spokesman pointed out that Republic of Afghanistan border guard units and subunits are resolutely suppressing the actions of extremist opposition groups in transferring weapons, ammunition, and explosives to the country's territory from abroad and are successfully routing the counterrevolutionary groupings carrying out these operations.

Afghan Civilians Take 'Increasingly Active' Role

PM0707131588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

["Correspondence From Afghanistan" by special correspondents Colonel G. Miranovich and Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik: "The People Are Dealing a Rebuff"]

[Text] Every day alarming reports of the shelling of cities and hamlets, attacks on convoys carrying civilian freight, and the mining of roads reach Kabul. Since the first days of July the

activity of the armed opposition detachments has been galvanized. We were told at the Republic of Afghanistan Army General Staff that in the past month, 524 rebels have been killed and over 700 wounded in fighting against the counterrevolution. A considerable quantity of weapons and ammunition has been seized and over 40 caravans carrying weapons from Pakistan have been destroyed. The most powerful strikes have been delivered against detachments of "intransigents" in Nangarhar, Zabol, Badakhshan, Farah, and Herat provinces.

It should be emphasized that the civilian population is taking an increasingly active part in repelling the onslaughts of the armed opposition. This was manifested most graphically in the recent events in Herat Province. Several groups of extremists headed by Nasir Ahmad arrived in the hamlet of Chkhar-Makhal [name as published] disguised as refugees returning home. The inhabitants of neighboring settlements demanded that they renounce hostilities and lay down their arms in accordance with the humane principles of national conciliation. But Nasir Ahmad not only refused to lay down his arms but, on pain of death, forced the inhabitants of Nasrabod, Bazar, and Kashak hamlets [names as published] to equip fire points and dig trenches.

An emergency conference of the Herat Province Defense Council decided to use joint efforts to eliminate the gang terrorizing the local population. As a result of the successful Afghan Army operation with the support of People's Militia subunits and detachments of tribal formations, the rebels were defeated and their weapons and ammunition depots, including rocket projectile launchers, mortars, recoilless rifles, grenade throwers, and a large quantity of antitank and antipersonnel mines of foreign manufacture, were destroyed.

The Afghan Armed Forces are continuing courageously to defend the republic's independence and sovereignty and to ensure peace and security in important parts of the country, including those from which Soviet troops have been withdrawn under the Geneva accords. Afghan Army units are operating independently in 21 of the republic's 30 provinces. This was stated by President Najibullah at a recent meeting with Khost District tribe representatives.

Alongside the fulfillment of their combat tasks, the Afghan Army units are also actively propagandizing the policy of national conciliation among the local population and distributing grain and necessities arriving as free aid from the Soviet Union. Captain Nazar Dzhon [name as published], deputy chief of an armored brigade political section, said in a brief interview:

"Just recently, our agitation detachment has worked in Pol-e Chzrkhi, Tatangoru [name as published], Tarakheyl [name as published], and Bakhtiryan [name as published] regions. We held 39 meetings with the local population and took part in 211 gatherings of the elders of neighboring hamlets at which we gave an explanation of the provisions of the Geneva agreements and described the progress in the withdrawal of units of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops. During these propaganda raids, over 1,700 families who had suffered particularly during the undeclared war received free aid: rice, clothing, kerosene, and medical supplies. Wherever we worked, the elders, the simple people, said: "We must put an end to this accursed war....."

That is what many Afghans today say and think. But the prospect of a political settlement on the basis of the Geneva agreements forms no part of the calculations of those who are warming their hands on the fratricidal war in Afghanistan. The leaders of the "Peshawar Seven," clearly to the dictation of Pakistan and their patrons from across the ocean, are frenziedly regrouping their forces and accumulating armaments on Afghan territory to continue "the holy war to victory." The flow of caravans coming with weapons from Pakistan continues to grow. In June alone, we were told at the General Staff of the republic's Armed Forces, all types of intelligence discovered over 100 small and large transport convoys and caravans which had crossed the Afghan-Pakistani border. Unfortunately only half of them were destroyed.

Pakistani Army transport is used extensively to transfer weapons. The army depots in Kohat, Nowshera, and Peshawar, from which arms, including air defense and antitank weapons from the NATO countries' armies are delivered to Afghan territory, function round the clock. Opposition groups are not abandoning their attempts to capture Qalat, the administrative center of Zabol Province, which Soviet troops recently left. According to reports from prisoners, the rebels are now mining sections of the Qandahar-Kabul road to prevent the arrival of a reinforcement for the staunchly fighting Qalat garrison.

...The people of Afghanistan must determine their fate for themselves. Washington and Islamabad do not cease to assert this. But in fact they are continuing to provide patronage for the "intransigents" from the camp of the Afghan counterrevolution and are continuing actions which in no way fit in with the accords signed in Geneva, whose essence is the same—the fate of Afghanistan must be decided by the Afghan people themselves.

Dissension Among Afghan Rebel Groups Reported

PM1007174188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jul 88 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Dissension in Opposition Camp"]

[Text] Kabul, 7 Jul—The leaders of many armed opposition detachments operating on Afghan territory have taken a very negative view of the fact that the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven" has created a notorious "transitional government" headed by Ahmad Shah.

According to reports being received here, as a sign of protest at the fact that not one of them was included in the "transitional government," the "field commanders"

are implementing measures to create their own provisional government. Thus, a jirgah of influential representatives of the ill-assorted armed opposition was held at the end of June in the Warsaj area (115 km southwest of Feyzabad), at which a head of government was "elected." Rebel representatives from nine provinces voted for Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, the military leader of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" [ISA] in northeastern regions of the country, while those from eight provinces voted for Turan Esma'il. The commanders of formations of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" refused to participate in the election. Addressing the jirgah participants, Ahmad Shah Mas'ud sharply criticized the leaders of the "Alliance of Seven," who live in luxury in Pakistan.

A conference of commanders of ISA detachments and groups was held in Badakhshan Province and reaffirmed the decision not to hinder the Soviet troop withdrawal from Fayzabad. The commanders appealed for all combat operations against Soviet troops to cease and warned that, if other armed groups do not agree to this, ISA detachments will use force of arms to make them obey the common decision. [Moscow TASS in English on 7 July at 1122 GMT in its report on the rebel dissension adds the following: "Some groups operating in Takhar Province step up propaganda work to discredit the leader of the extremist Islamic Party of Afghanistan, Hikmatyar. It is said, specifically, in a leaflet that is circulated on behalf of these groups in Taleqan that while making demagogical statements about 'the struggle for faith', Hikmatyar seeks personal enrichment, whereas members of his groups 'oppress Muslims and plunder the poor'."]

Refusing to fulfill the directives of the "Alliance of Seven" from Peshawar, the commanders of Nangarhar bandit formations are engaged in a mutual struggle to extend their own "zones of control." Thus, in the course of armed clashes between detachments of the "Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan" and the "National Liberation Front" in the province more than 70 "mujahidin" have been killed on both sides. [The Moscow TASS English version adds the following: "An armed clash between two units from the 'Front of National Salvation of Afghanistan' took place in Kunar Province because of differences in the distribution of arms and ammunition. The leaders of both units were killed. Clashes between bands over armaments and ammunition brought on 80 pack animals take place between bands in Alingar District, Laghman Province. Two Arab advisors are expected to arrive shortly to bring about reconciliation of the heads of the units and ensure a 'fair' division of arms. Armed clashes between groups of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan take place in Aq Gonbaz District, Jowzjan Province over zones of influence.

["The announcement of the opposition's formation of 'transitional government' evoked negative and ironic assessement of various strata of Kabul. There is a common opinion that the Pakistani extremists, leaders of the 'Alliance of the Seven' and Ziaul Haq use this 'government' to deceive people in Afghanistan and refugees in Pakistani camps. The 'head of the government' Ahmad Shah, who has pro-American attitudes is particularly criticized among business and many religious circles."]

Student Questions Cost, Value of Afghan War

PM0507124188 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 26, 27 Jun-3 Jul 88 (Signed to Press 29 Jun 88) p 3

[Reader's Letter under general heading "Correspondence With Readers"]

[Text] While the party conference is sitting, I am plucking up the courage to express a few thoughts. Socialist internationalism is one of the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism. But how do you define the line where military assistance ends and the export of revolution begins—a revolution which does not enjoy the people's support because they are not ready for it, do not understand it, and resist it?

A revolution took place in Afghanistan in April 1978—the democratic transformations, which were implemented with excesses and substantial mistakes, alienated a large part of the country's believing population. The land reform remained incomprehensible to the poorest strata of the peasantry. In December 1979, when the fate of the April Revolution was being decided (it would be interesting to find out what sort of revolution it was), our country honored the Afghans' requests and stood up to defend it.

The defense has lasted for 8 and ½ years now, and has unnoticeably grown into an exhausting war.

The Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops was performing its international duty. Apart from this phrase, we heard no other convincing arguments in favor of our troops' presence in Afghanistan.

Just one point could be glimpsed from published material: Everything that we and Afghanistan's Government did was just. But unofficial accounts by people who "had been there" indicated something else: Not everything was going smoothly with the international assistance.

Fortunately, the policy of national reconciliation has triumphed. But let us look and see how this reconciliation was achieved.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan is now simply a republic.

The red star has disappeared from its flag.

Dushman gangs are continuing combat operations.

The new government is not recognized in some cities and in the villages of Afghanistan.

The Soviet people have already experienced several grave tragedies—Chernobyl, the "Admiral Nakhimov...." The war in Afghanistan suggests itself for inclusion in this list. The damage inflicted on our economy can be calculated, but how do you measure the human losses suffered in this war?

Measures are needed to preclude the likelihood that similar tragedies may recur.

Nikolay Skrynnik, student, Kharkov

Red Cross 'Enthusiasm' on POW Search Noted

LD0807232688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A news conference on the return of Soviet POW's has been held in Moscow. Our correspondent reports:

[V. Lobachenko, identified by screen caption] This news conference dealt with the Soviet Red Cross' humane and important mission in facilitating the return home of our servicemen who have fallen prisoner to the Afghan armed opposition. Venediktov, chairman of the USSR Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies Executive Committee, told journalists about a Soviet delegations's trip to Geneva. It discussed this issue with the International Committee of the Red Cross and with other international organizations. At the same time, a list of Soviet prisoners and missing was finalized. It already includes 313 names. An additional 14 people, who went off to various Western countries under the influence of the widespread campaign suggesting that prisoners returning home should expect certain repression, should also be added to the list. The fate of those former prisoners who have already returned home reveals this as a malicious invention.

[Begin video recording] [Unidentified reporter] You recently met in Geneva representatives of an influential organization—the International Committee of the Red Cross. In the course of these talks, conversations, and contacts, were you aware of their sincere desire to help in your humane mission?

[Venediktov] I would say it is—we were aware of this desire earlier. But we are now sensing that the International Committee of the Red Cross has been seized by what I would call a new wave of enthusiasm. The signing of the Geneva accords and the whole changed political situation around Afghanistan has given the committee extra opportunities for its work. You could say they feel inspired to some extent.

They promised us in the shortest possible time to finalize the lists and to take every additional step to ease the fate of the Soviet internationalist troops and to aid their return. Incidentally, we have made an extra subscription to this Red Cross committee. But funds are not the issue here. All the money required to resolve these problems can be found. [end recording]

Serviceman on POW Conditions in Pakistan

LD1007153188 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 10 TASS—TASS correspondent Igor Shishkov reports:

"While fulfilling a combat mission as a member of a Soviet unit in October 1987, together with a unit of Afghan People's Militia, I was taken prisoner by a detachment of armed opposition in Lowgar Province, near the district centre of Baraki," said Private Aleksandr Yankovskiy at a press conference held here today. "During my captivity up to March 1988," he went on to say, "I was secretly moved at first to an inhabited locality four kilometres away from the Pakistani border to the G-O-G [expansion unknown] training camp and then the Maydan training centre in Pakistan."

During his time as a prisoner of war, Yankovskiy repeatedly witnessed the use of foreign technology, primarily Japanese, and foreign specialists for reinforcing bandit detachments both in Pakistan and in Afghanistan. Yankovskiy said that he had seen Arabs among foreign specialists whom he had happened to see at fortification work. The French were in charge of a hospital so as to render medical services to "fighters for Islam".

He said that representatives of the Western mass media, including those for the USA and Britain, had repeatedly had with him "brain-washing" talks. They offered him large sums of money and other boons in exchange for renouncing his homeland. A wide range of anti-Soviet literature, as well as the Koran published in France were among elements of ideological conditioning, noted the Soviet soldier. But after getting convinced that such measures of master-minding did not yield expected results, bandits resorted to physical "education": They beat him with clubs, stones, used threats and promises to force him to betray his homeland and to participate in anti-Soviet activities.

Asked by journalists about conditions of his upkeep in captivity, whether the Pakistani Administration had known that he and other Soviet soldiers had been in Pakistan as prisoners of war and whether he had contacts with other prisoners of war, Yankovskiy said that the conditions of upkeep had been very rough. Meals were given, depending on "moods of masters", one or two times a day, and they were not of good quality. He was constantly guarded by four men: two inside the room and two—outside. Such a precaution was taken after his eight attempts to flee. Replying whether the Pakistani side had known about his stay in Pakistan, Yankovskiy replied that he had no such information, since all contacts with the outside world, including with other Soviet

soldiers, had been completely precluded. Yankovskiy learnt only once, by sheer chance that there were over 100 Soviet prisoners of war in the area where he was kept.

In conclusion, addressing journalists, Aleksandr Yankovskiy asked the mass media to bring to the knowledge of Soviet citizens who had turned to be abroad that the other day USSR procurator general had made a statement where he had declared amnesty for all Soviet prisoners of war, irrespective of reasons for their capture and behaviour in captivity.

East Europe

Gorbachev Pays Official Visit to Poland

Departs for Warsaw

LD1107062988 Moscow TASS in English 0626 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 11—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, left here for Warsaw today for an official friendly visit at the invitation of Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, and top state authorities of the Polish People's Republic.

Seen Off by Officials

LD1107070088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0630 GMT 11 Jul 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, left Moscow for Warsaw today on an official friendly visit at the invitation of Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and of the supreme state authorities of the Polish People's Republic. Comrades Shevardnadze and Medvedev, and Comrade Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian CP Central Committee are accompanying Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was seen off at the airport by comrades Vorotnikov, Gromyko, Zaykov, Ligachev, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Solomentsev, Yakovlev, Demichev, Dolgikh, Maslyukov, Yazov, Baklanov, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Lukyanov, Kapitonov, and other comrades. Also present was Lukasz, Polish charge d'affaires in the USSR.

Arrival Ceremony Detailed

LD1107114488 Moscow TASS in English 1058 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 11 TASS—(From TASS special correspondent).

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), arrived here today for an official friendly visit at the invitation of Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Worker's Party (PUWP), and top state authorities of the Polish People's Republic.

Ten a.m., local time. The Okecie Airport building is decked with the state flags of the Soviet Union and Poland. The line-up of the guard of honour consisting of Polish infantrymen, airmen and navymen is impeccable. Numerous representatives of Polish, Soviet and foreign newspapers, magazine and television networks are ready to take snaps of the first minutes of the important event in the life of the two fraternal peoples.

The IL-62 airliner, which over the past three years could be seen at the airports of Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, London, Prague, Berlin, Budapest and other cities, taxied up to the site of the welcoming ceremony.

At the ramp Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife were cordially greeted by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, president of Poland's Council of State, and his wife. Polish Young Pioneers presented flowers to the guests.

A military band played the national anthems of the two countries.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski reviewed the guard of honour.

The Soviet leader exchanged handshakes with Zbigniew Messner, chairman of Poland's Council of Ministers, and Marshal of the Polish Sejm Roman Malinowski, with members of party and state leadership of the country, and members of the Polish Government.

Among the welcoming party were staff members of Soviet institutions in Poland and the heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Warsaw. Representatives of the working people of the Polish capital who gathered at the airport expressed their heartfelt sentiments to Mikhail Gorbachev by waving flowers and small flags, and by cheers. The ceremony ended with a march-past of the guard of honour.

During the visit to Poland Mikhail Gorbachev is being accompanied by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, Vadim Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Yefrem Sokolov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia, and Vladimir Brovikov, the ambassador of the USSR to Poland.

Polish Unknown Soldier Honored

LD1107113388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1110 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, 11 July (TASS)—M.S. Gorbachev's meetings with residents of Warsaw began even on the road out of Okecie on the outskirts of the Polish captial. A cortege of vehicles accompanied by a motorcycle escort then headed into the center of the city. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Comittee laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, honored the memory of the fallen heroes of Warsaw and laid flowers at the Monument to Nike. He visited the memorial cemetery of the Soviet servicemen who fell during the liberation of Warsaw where he laid a wreath.

Talks With Jaruzelski

LD1107120188 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 11 TASS—By TASS special correspondents: Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski had their first talks here today. The Soviet and the Polish leaders exchanged information on the processes of renovation in the political, economic and social lives of their countries and on the pressing tasks that are being solved by the CPSU and the PUWP at the present stage of socialist construction.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee spoke about the results of the 19th all-union party conference.

It was noted from both sides that the very atmosphere of the Soviet Communists' forum and the decisions adopted at it are of tremendous importance for the whole of world socialism.

The two leaders also discussed a wide range of urgent problems of international life and the joint tasks of the USSR and the Polish People's Republic in strengthening peace and security.

Warsaw Briefing Held Before Gorbachev Visit

Primakov, Others Answer Newsmen

LD0907022188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2130 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] [Presenter] Now according to our announcement we shall broadcast a report from a press conference of the Soviet experts who will accompany General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev during his stay in our country.

[Reporter] Journalists' questions were answered by Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Geliy Batenin, military expert of the CPSU Central Committee; and Andrey (?Grachev), sector head in the Propaganda Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

The conference was started by Yevgeniy Primakov who presented the course and results of the 19th Conference of the CPSU. He said among other things:

[Begin Primakov recording in Russian fading into Polish translation] In this case it was definitely a historic event in the life of our party. First, because it was a true school of democracy. I took part in that conference and I saw how democratically its work was organized, how meaningful it was, and how all delegates were involved in its activities. And the most important thing initiated at the conference was the beginning of active measures aimed at the reconstruction of political infrastructure of the Soviet Union and the political institutions. This was a very important matter. We could not do it instantly. We began our actions on the path of glasnost, democratization, and economic reform. One had to restructure consciousness as far as the need for changes both in the sphere of economy and politics was concerned. Without that this conference would not have been possible. This conference would not have been possible even a year ago, but we noticed early that the movement along the lines of democratization and economic reform was encountering resistance from political consciousness that had not yet changed. It was thus clear that one had to restructure the political institutions and adopt a new understanding of the avant-garde role of the party, and rethink the role of the (?soviets), etc. These issues determined the nature of the preparations for the conference.

At the conference it was again confirmed that the party was the avant-garde force leading perestroyka and society, of course changing its functions and its role and at the same time returning to Leninist principles, which, unfortunately, during the period of personality cult and the period of stagnation, were deformed.

One must also say something about another matter. The results of the conference should not be assessed on the basis of discussion but on the basis of the resolutions that the conference adopted. These resolutions encompass vast areas and enormous problems. They are a platform on which the path of our perestroyka will lead. These resolutions manifest the fact that the intended actions are not going to be cosmetic but radically extend the possibilities of restructuring.

And finally, one last important matter. In fact, the conference emphasized this. Now the most important thing is to implement its decisions. Obviously, one must bear in mind here the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum that will convene to discuss this at the end of the month. However, without waiting for the plenum many decisions of the conference are already being introduced throughout the country. [end recording]

[Reporter] The greater part of the questions posed by journalists were concerned with the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. They asked about the eventual aims of glasnost and perestroyka to which the answer was that the aim was to enter the 21st Century with a modern,

socialist society, which would have a modern economy. One source of interest was the matter of the struggle against today's opponents and from the answer it would seem that they are first and foremost those who at present in this administrative system are doing very well. The journalist tried to find what guarantes there were that the majority of society would support the changes.

However there were also questions regarding mutual relations between socialist countries. For example the correspondent of the french newspaper L'EXPRESS said that in the Soviet Union they are stressing, above all, the importance of political changes (?and only then that of) economic ones—and he asked for a comment on this difference. This (?question) was taken up by Yevgeniy Primakov.

[Begin Primakov recording in Russian fading to Polish translation] I would not want to confront political matters with economic matters. I have already said that the restrictions in economic changes were caused by the fact that we have not changed our political consciousness. One thing is linked to the other. In my opinion we would be unable to undertake important political changes without economic changes. [end recording]

[Reporter] A correspondent of Soviet television asked about the implementation of a declaration signed last year about cooperation in the spheres of ideology, science, and culture between Poland and the Soviet Union. He also wanted to know why it was with Poland that the Soviet Union signed the first such declaration. The question was answered by Andrey (?Grachev).

[Begin Grachev recording in Russian fading to Polish translation] This is one of the first documents which, to my mind, demonstrates the possibilities of expanding mutual relations between socialist countries. As far as the implementation is concerned then, as far as I know, its many aspects are being implemented with success, and the most visible, the most commented upon is the work of the joint Soviet-Polish commission dealing with the explanation of the so-called blank spots in our joint history. Concerning why it is with Poland that we signed the first such declaration—there is a very tempting answer and one which is very reasonable: It stems from the concurrence of the processes taking place in the Soviet Union—which we call perestroyka—and those processes which are taking place in Poland, which embrace the important sphere of ideology, science, and culture.

The obvious likeness in the courses of our parties and our countries have made it possible to undertake this extended, practical, and unique declaration. [end recording]

[Reporter] One of the questions directed to General Batenin concerned the possibility of an announcement at the Warsaw Pact summit of a new disarmament proposal.

In his answer General Batenin said that, even though there was no such official intention, knowing the entourage and the personality of Mikhail Gorbachev one could expect such a new initiative.

Polish Economic Minister Speaks

LD1007210988 Moscow TASS in English 2049 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 10 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Pershin reports:

For Poland cooperation with the Soviet Union is a guarantee of economic security and stability, said Wladyslaw Gwiazda, Polish minister for foreign economic cooperation. Asked by a TASS correspondent at a press conference held here today on the eve of the official friendly visit to Poland by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, he pointed out that Poland attached extreme importance to national economic interaction with the USSR.

"We," said the minister, "are developing in an all-round way various forms of economic, scientific and technical cooperation, which was especially vigorous in the recent past." Electronics, automation, biotechnology and biocybernetics are priority areas. This year joint work is conducted on 75 themes, 31 of them will be introduced into industry, noted W. Gwiazda.

Polish Press Coverage of Gorbachev Visit Noted

LD1107083988 Moscow TASS in English 0823 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 11 TASS—All the central Polish newspapers frontpage today reports on an official friendly visit to Poland of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, starting today.

TRYBUNA LUDU pointed out that the visit would become one of this year's feature events in Poland. Its significance stems from the state and nature of allied Polish-Soviet relations and a high personal prestige of the Soviet leader. Soviet-Polish relations became especially close in the past several years. Direct contacts of Soviet and Polish leaders play a decisive part in their development.

The Polish people pin on the coming visit and especially on the talks of the leaders of the two fraternal countries their hopes of a new stronger impetus for the development of friendly and allied Polish-Soviet relations. Poland regards its alliance with the Soviet Union as a guarantee of its security and territorial integrity. The Polish people express full support for the Soviet policy of peace, because it meets the national interests of the country. The visit will give expression to this mutual concern for further destinies of humanity, for "our common European home" which is especially close to us, the newspaper pointed out.

NOVOYE VREMYA Interview of Jaruzelski Cited

PM1107103988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
8 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Ideas Imparting New Dynamism to Socialism. W. Jaruzelski's Interview with Soviet Journalists"]

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jul—W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of State, has given an interview to correspondents from NOVOYE VREMYA. He said, in particular:

Within Poland and within our party we are deeply gratified at the remarkable course of the CPSU conference, and we greet with satisfaction the changes being wrought by restructuring and by the new thinking. This is universally linked with the personality of M.S. Gorbachev and is perceived in our party and among all Poles with great appreciation and profound sympathy. There are important reasons for that, since these ideas are giving socialism new dynamism, are imparting mighty strength to all forces that identify with it, are promoting progress and the expansion and strengthening of material and spiritual forces, are increasing socialism's moral and political influence worldwide, and are proof of its creative potential. For the peoples of the world real hopes are emerging for liberation from the nuclear threat, the building of an international security system, and the successful resolution of global and regional problems. Restructuring and new thinking are geared to people. Recognizing people as the supreme asset, restructuring and the new thinking are pooling every effort in order to satisfy people's needs, expectations, and aspirations to the best possible degree and are creating comprehensive and more favorable conditions for strengthening Polish-Soviet friendship and developing cooperation between our countries.

From the standpoint of the socialist social system there has never been such a large-scale initiative as restructuring since the October Revolution and the time of Lenin.

We attach enormous significance to exchanges of experience between allies and friends. These exchanges make it possible to pursue more rapidly and effectively innovative solutions that promote socialist development, and also help to guard against serious mistakes.

Socialism has reached a watershed in its history when it is essentially necessary to reform all spheres of life. Socialism can only develop when it adjusts itself and constantly transforms itself in accordance with the demands of the day, the call of the time, and the model of the future.

Poland greeted with great attention M.S. Gorbachev's report at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. In its content Poles were given an opportunity to see the organic combination of many topics and problems which were discussed at the recent PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

We are now very critical of ourselves and our activity, W. Jaruzelski went on to note. The contradictions that have built up in our country over many years have led to considerable social upheaval, the unhealthy consequences of which still persist.

Completely overcoming these consequences will be a difficult job and will take time. The socialist renewal proclaimed by us at the 9th Congress means building a largely new model of economic, social, and political life. Ridding ourselves of the accretions of the past and administration-style leadership methods, we are eradicating bureaucratic structures and methods—the barriers which restrict the activeness of individuals and all society.

Our main aim is to boost efficiency in society's interests. The economic reform was begun under unusually difficult circumstances. However, the party decided that it could not be postponed. The extraction of the economy from its deep crisis confirmed the correctness of this decision.

We indissolubly link economic reforms with the development of socialist democracy. These are two pillars of a single historical process. We are banking on self-management in all spheres of life and on people's power as Lenin understood it. We are developing democracy, strengthening civic rights in accordance with modern trends in human rights development, and removing any restrictions on individual initiative.

Under our Polish conditions this is linked with building broad national consensus and introducing socialist pluralism. We consider a multiplicity of views to be natural. We conduct a quest for unity on questions of fundamental importance to the people's future and the development of the socialist state. We are improving the structures and tools for carrying out such a quest.

Talking about the prospects for developing international relations, the Polish leader dwelt on the plan put forward by Poland for arms reduction and confidence-building in Central Europe, which is well-known around the world as the "Jaruzelski Plan."

The Polish Government has presented a memorandum which develops the proposals set forth in my speech to the Second Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. European public opinion has not ignored the innovative nature of the Polish plan and the possibilities opened up by its flexibility and consonance with Europe's current expectations.

Needless to say, the Polish initiative—like the proposals of the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and other socialist countries—could only appear and produce businesslike interest thanks to the openness engendered in East-West relations by new thinking and the USSR's peace offensive. The Soviet-U.S. dialogue is of decisive and fundamental importance in this.

Just 3 years ago few could have foreseen that the dialogue between the Soviet and U.S. leadership would lead to such substantive changes and create a new quality of East-West relations.

Each of the four Soviet-U.S. summits has been weighty. In Moscow M.S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan reaffirmed the continuity of the dialogue and expanded its range in arms limitation, the settlement of regional conflicts, the human rights sphere, and a wider concept of bilateral cooperation. The so-called "image of the enemy" that darkened relations between the two countries has faded. An important step toward arms limitation has been taken. The Moscow summit brought no progress on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms. However, it blazed a trail, and we hope that a treaty will be concluded in the not too distant future.

An opportunity is emerging for a historic compromise in ridding mankind of the nuclear threat, replacing the "balance of terror" with joint security, and resolving the most important present-day problems through joint efforts. Favorable conditions are emerging for dialogue and European cooperation—which we will undoubtedly be discussing at the forthcoming Warsaw conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee.

In connection with M.S. Gorbachev's forthcoming official friendly visit to Poland the Polish leader noted that people in Poland are attaching the greatest importance to the visit. I am convinced, he said, that the visit will be a major event in Polish-Soviet relations.

The alliance with the USSR is seen by most Poles as the guarantee of our security and territorial integrity. This alliance finally overcame historic realities which were unfavorable for our peoples, which occurred over a period of centuries, and which contained many disputes, conflicts, and even tragedies. This long-gone past is now a subject of detailed joint scholarly analysis with a view to ridding our peoples' consciences of the vestiges of past emotions and hostility by revealing the whole truth, and at the same time showing all the sources and roots of our present friendship. Our joint struggle against Czarist oppression, the role of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party in restoring Poland's independence, and the historic mission of ridding Poland of the Hitlerite yoke—a mission accomplished through the blood of Soviet soldiers—should never be forgotten.

Top-level contacts between our parties and governments have entered a new phase in recent years. They are more frequent, are not so much protocol affairs, and have become far more concrete. This concerns not only the leadership level, but all—or almost all—components of our social life. We realize, however, that far more opportunities exist for our mutually advantageous cooperation. There are still huge reserves in this area.

The USSR's role in our socialist community is changing. It must be admitted that in the past there was strong-arm pressure and mechanical copying: If things were done such a way in the USSR, they had to be done the same way in our country too. Things are different now. The basis for that is mutual confidence, collaboration, and mutual aid. I would call all this enriched internationalism.

Our common goal, which has been fully reaffirmed during previous meetings, has been to give new depth and greater dynamism to Polish-Soviet relations.

The visit to Poland by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee is happening at a time when qualitatively new cooperation between socialist community states is being created. Our cooperation is now marked by increasingly notable joint efforts aimed at accelerating scientific and technical progress. It is typified in the entire system of mutual relations by professionalism, initiative, and consistency. We want this visit and our talks and accords to play a substantive role in all spheres too, particularly in strengthening the Warsaw Pact and its activity aimed at reinforcing security in Europe, and in renewing the structures and functioning of the CEMA.

Poland is part and parcel of the great current of socialist transformations. The ideological similarity between our course of socialist renewal and your line of restructuring, the similarity between the PZPR and CPSU outlines for socialist development, the complete unity of our efforts for the sake of peace, detente, and arms limitation, and simultaneously our joint quest for the best solutions and the bold surmounting of vestiges of the past are the factors which are promoting the strengthening and deepening of our friendship.

'Key Aspects' of Polish Reform Highlighted

LD0907220588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1000 GMT 9 Jul 88

["Countries of Socialism" program; Dmitriy Biryukov video report from Poland]

[Excerpt] [Biryukov] In a 30-minute broadcast, of course, one cannot say very much, and so we have tried to pick out some key aspects and mainly to listen to various assessments of the situation in the country from people representing the spheres of politics, economics, and science. We met workers at the Nowa Huta metallurgical combine in Krakow and visited Katowice. We have called our television sketch: "Poland in the Summer of 1988." [Video shows Biryukov interviewing Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PCPR Central Committee]

[Biryukov] Rather than a question, I would like to put a request to you: Would you please give an assessment of the situation with the provisional title of "Poland in the summer of 1988?"

[Czyrek in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] This is by no means easy. I think that the most important, successful and complete definition of this period in Poland would be to assess it as particularly important. This year we began the second stage of the reform—economic and sociopolitical—which has been marked not only by successes but also by certain difficulties.

The 7th plenum of our party's Central Committee reviewed the situation. It outlined the main areas of our activity in the present situation. How can I describe this in brief? It is of fundamental importance to recognize that in Poland there is undoubtedly a broad understanding of the need for and usefulness of reform.

But this does not mean that there is also universal approval of each specific step of reform or of its material or other consequences in particular collectives or in the social environment. Confirmation of this was provided by the incidents which are no doubt well known to you—the strikes which took place in our country, even though their scale was inflated by Western propaganda. They took place at three enterprises. Not all the collectives but only a small proportion participated in them. They amounted to approximately 2,000 of 12 million working people. One can assert boldly that these events showed that the Polish people are mature and that generally people are realistic. I am convinced that we can speed up our development and solve existing problems. But this can be done only by persistent and consistent work. And so our people confirmed their maturity. Against the back drop of this situation we are beginning to speed up reform. This is confirmed by the decision of the PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

Reforms in the political sphere are very important. The main direction is to broaden our democracy. Changes are needed in the electoral system. The first step was the recent elections to people's councils at various levels. Another sphere of activity is the creation of a sort of coalition to implement the reform. It should have no place for those whose principle is described by the slogan: the worse for Poland, the better, that is for destructive antisocialist forces. But it can have representatives of those who do not agree with individual concepts, decisions, or practical steps but who in the final analysis are striving to make Poland flourish, for economic and social progress. It is also important to recognize the importance of the existence of a peaceful international situation.

In these conditions the path which one could with complete justification call Polish pluralism would become the direction for the development of the political situation in Poland. The guiding force of these processes and their initiator is our party.

[Biryukov] One more question. How, in practice, is the exchange of experience going in the introduction of reforms among the fraternal parties?

[Czyrek] This is an important question precisely because in Poland we are implementing something that is called socialist renewal. This is part of the main trend in socialism which we call restructuring. More broadly, one can define this as the renewal of the socialist formation. The experience which we are sharing is very broad, starting from experiencein the policy of glasnost to making use of solutions which have already been found for various problems the need for whose solution has been prompted by the process of socialist renewal. One example of this is the creation of joint enterprises, joint research and, in general, the uniting of our efforts to benefit the peoples of our countries and to consolidate socialism.

Whatever serves man must be expanded and deepened. Let us take, for example, the expansion of contacts between people, for example, among young people, among scientists. These contacts should be stripped of formalism and being done just for show. They are needed, primarily, so that during the meetings joint thought can be given to ways of solving individual problems, to deciding what needs to be done in order to increase our strength while broadening our cooperation.

In sum, at this moment this process—I would say, this mighty process of restructuring—whose sources lie in the ideas and will of our parties, our working class, our society, plays a vast role on the international arena too and is raising the USSR and the position of socialism to a level which we previously never even contemplated. I frequently travel abroad and talk with many politicians and statesmen, and I can say that respect for the USSR and interest in it and recognition of it at this time are vast. The old concept of the USSR and socialism as a system which threatens the whole world and which aims at expansion is melting away like snow in springtime.

At present we are engaged in creating something like an equal partnership in resolving international problems. This is also due to the USSR's domestic and foreign policy, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, our parties, and our countries.

Returning to the problems of Poland, I consider that the stage at which we are now influences the rate of implementing our decisions in the coming years. We calculated the reform would last 3 years. Various difficulties will arise, probably. But by relying on what I call the people's maturity, on the resolve to see this reform through to the end, despite various difficulties or incidents this will, most likely, be an unusually important stage and one which is creative for our history and for our development. I believe that it will be the same in our relations of friendship and cooperation.

[Biryukov] Thank you. [video shows street scenes]

Whoever you talk to in Poland today, the conversation will inevitably come around to the problems of the economic reform now under way. Some people criticize it, others consider it a necessity, yet others suggest amendments. Very frequently the conversation touches on the emergency powers granted by the Sejm to the government in order to implement various specific steps of the reform. The Sejm's decisions is being linked witht he strikes which took place at the end of April and beginning of May and which Comrade Czyrek mentioned. This is what all of this looked like in Gdansk, for example. [video shows Solidarity flags, strike slogans and strikers]

We asked Professor Zdzislaw Sadowski, deputy chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers, to comment on the decision to grant emergency powers.

[Sadowski in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] The Polish Government received from the Sejm emergency powers concerning the right to make certain decisions connected with the implementation of the economic reform. This fact is not in any way connected with the strikes which took place at the end of April and beginning of May. The concept of these emergency powers arose earlier and is connected with only one thing, with the striving to ensure a rapid rate for the implementation of the second stage of economic reform. These emergency powers should not be regarded separately from our main task which is to implement the developed and very broad plan adopted by the Sejm this February to implement the second stage of a economic reform. Very many people are working on this program in the sphere of organizational changes, politico-economic initiatives, structural changes, and changes in the legal system. All of these initiatives are closely interconnected and are interdependent. We have experience and understanding of the fact that just introducing new legislative instructions and changes in social structures does not automatically result in changes in the activities of collectives of enterprises and institutions. There is always a certain delay. There is an inclination to act in accordance with the usual old habits stemming from the old economic management system. The emergency powers should help to speed up the rate of adoption of the new style of activity. [passage omitted]

Polish Consultative Council Debates Viewed

PM0607154188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Special correspondents N. Yermolovich and L. Toporkov "Letter From Warsaw": "'Nighttime Conversations Between Poles.' 'Say Everything, Hear Everything'—That Is the Principle Guiding the Consultative Council Under the Chairman of the Polish Council of State"]

[Text] "Nighttime conversations between Poles" is an evocative phrase which did not arise today or even yesterday, and it signifies Polish society's typical form of expressing something that is a source of pain and that troubles heart and mind. Nighttime conversations because they occur at a time when no one disturbs you, and you can say what you are thinking unhurriedly and confidentially, when you are not concerned so much with the verbal expression of the thought as with its essence.

Now is just the time to talk about the phenomenon of glasnost engendered by the development of the process of democratization in Poland. "Nighttime conversations between Poles" have been under way for a good 18 months now, and do you know where? In the Belweder Palace adjacent to Lazienki Park—Poland's Council of State, where the country's collective president is located. These conversations have now, if we can use this expression, been legalized and described as sessions of the Consultative Council, an informal public organ permanently operating under the chairman of the Council of State. Its task is to be an open forum for pluralism of opinion and the most diverse viewpoints.

Polish society is extremely heterogeneous and pluralistic in terms of both its social makeup and also its outlook and view of the country's future. What will it be like for Polish socialism? There is no unequivocal answer to this question. The state's policy is determined by the PZPR in collaboration with other allied parties (the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party). However, its leaders have stated on several occasions that the PZPR does not possess the monopoly on truth or the only reliable key to the hallowed temple of truth. That is why, having come through the far from easy tests and upheavals of the years of socialist building, the party and the Republic's state leadership have set firm course for the development of democracy and for consultation with society and with the representatives of all its strata. It is increasingly important and vitally necessary to be fully aware of the people's sentiments and the arguments both "for" and "against" particular undertakings and initiatives for future development and to obtain information from all sources, and not only from the party and state apparatus! Policy can only be correct and effective when based on a multiplicity of notions of life's underlying processes.

In our previous letter (IZVESTIYA No 176), we talked about the Polish Sejm and stressed that it constitutes an entire social section of society. Of course this is the case. Nonetheless, if we are being totally objective, it is not quite the case. Groups which deem themselves to be the opposition section of society are not represented in the Sejm. They are, as it were, outside the general process of historic creativity in daily life, and some with frankly extremist sentiments have gone to work for Western anti-Polish circles. However, we are not referring to that handful of people whose services are paid for from outside but to the so-called moderate opposition, for whom the country's state interests are above their political ambitions. They favor the process called national accord.

At the end of 1986 the chairman of the Polish Council of State personally invited many well-known people in Poland to come to the first session of the Consultative Council. It was held 6 December. 56 people responded to W. Jaruzelski's request. An insignificantly small number declined. Only a few of the church hierarchs did not come: They said that it was "not fitting" for them to be involved with such a council.

The composition of the Consultative Council is extremely interesting. Most of its members—70 percent—are nonparty people. They are lawyers, economists, historians, philosophers, medics, engineers, sociologists, journalists, and actors by profession. Two-thirds are professors. There is a peasant, the head of an individual livestock unit. However, he is not quite ordinary: Jan Kulaj was at one time the head of the rural "Solidarity" organization. Counsel Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, who was at one time an expert on "Solidarity," has also left that camp.

Communists Professor Piotr Zaremba (coordinator of the UNESCO "Urban Ecosystems" international problem); Ryszard Wojna, a journalist specializing in international affairs; and Jerzy Trela, an actor; and nonparty people Halina Skibniewska, an architect; Professor Jan Szczepanski, a sociologist; Kazimierz Dejmek, theater producer; Pensioner Stanislaw Zawada, a metallurgist; Catholic Janusz Zablocki, a journalist; and many others...met in the Belweder in the hall where the Council of State normally sits.

Gathered round one table were people who had not talked together for a long time and who, to be frank, had not intended to enter into this kind of relationship. It was probably only there that they could assess the initiative from the chairman of the Council of State on its merits. Estrangement and unwillingness to hold out their hands to one another have led to a deadlock which, of course, has had a negative impact on the public atmosphere. Yet they all have to live on the same earth under the same sky. The interests of their native land and its well-being are the highest values for each guest.

Speaking at the council's organizational session, Wojciech Jaruzelski mentioned this. Pointing out the difference of opinions and outlook among the guests at the Belweder, which reflects the diversity in the entire people's mental processes, he said that the formation of such an informal and unofficial social organ as the Consultative Council—the like of which can no longer be seen anywhere in the world—is the latest notable step on the path of national concord in Poland. We can discuss everything that worries us, he said, and there is no ban on any subject. Whether we will be able to overcome the schism and alienation in our midst depends on ourselves. The creation of a council like ours is a kind of historical experiment. Guided by dissimilar stances, the council will have to analyze the processes taking place in the country, pose questions, and propose options for resolving them, proceeding from the main thing—Poland's interests. W. Jaruzelski said: There must be no division into "you" and "us" and into "party members" and "nonparty members" in our country.

Seven sessions of the Consultative Council have taken place in the last 18 months (approximately one each quarter). What have they shown? We met at the Belweder with Warsaw University Professor Anna Przeclawska, a nonparty member; and Adam Zielinski, a lawyer, chairman of the Polish Main Administrative Court, and a member of the PZPR, who are members of the council.

A. Przeclawska: These are indeed "nighttime conversations between Poles." They often drag on until 1 am, lasting 14-15 hours. Moreover, the discussion are by no mean pro forma. They are distinguished, as we have agreed just now, by the openness and straightforwardness of the opinions.

This is not a debating club, although quite acute dialogues do take place. The main thing here is to formulate the problem which we should concentrate on resolving. Everyone speaks equally and puts forward their own concepts.

A. Zielinski: However, here everyone feels a particular sense of responsibility for what they have said. People expect ideas, reasoning, and arguments from us rather than emotions. Although witticisms are by no means precluded.

Przeclawska: Debate is good, of course. But it is important that our postulates don't just remain on paper (session transcripts are published in the RADA NARODOWA bulletin) but are implemented. This is happening and is a source of extreme satisfaction for us. From diagnosis to action! The principle is extremely valuable. For instance, we discussed extensively and keenly the cadre policy now being implemented. The practice of the so-called party vetting list, which opens the way to party members who are not necessarily talented and competent but who can adapt themselves and denies capable people a chance solely because they are nonparty people, was criticized. The decisions of the recent PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which was devoted to economic reform and cadres, reflected our viewpoint.

A. Zielinski: Take the problem of emigration, which is so topical for us. Good specialists who have been educated in people's Poland and who are needed here are leaving for the West. They want to earn more there. What are we to do? Close the borders? That doesn't solve the problem but merely evades it, and moreover not in the best way. The trouble is driven inward and does not come into the open. People must have the chance of earning a good wage at home. That is why the debate in our country regarding the intensification and improvement of economic reform and creating all opportunities for the development of enterprise was so stormy. People have to

work on the basis of interest rather than enthusiasm. Our country is now preparing a law on how to tackle economic activity. It places all sectors of the national economy on equal terms.

A. Przeclawska: Another example is the passport system. Our influence was instrumental in the previously unprecedented liberalization of the passport system. Conversations on the topics of the health service, public education, the development of the processes of democratizing life, and the electoral system were useful. Generally every session is summed up by Wojciech Jaruzelski. Something he said once has stuck in our minds: "There are never too many roads toward the truth." That is quite true.

A. Zielinski: Decisions of importance to the state and the people must not be adopted in secret, in the depths of the apparatus, without broad discussion and preliminary study of the question, including, for instance, sociological investigation. Political culture, especially in our time when the world has become more complex, also consists in being able not only to say but also to hear everything. We think that the leader of the party and state is endeavoring to be as well-informed as possible.

A. Przeclawska: Interesting things can be observed at our council. At first those members who are members of opposition circles were somewhat mistrustful: They asked whether the Consultative Council served as a cover for the authorities and whether it was just icing on the socialist state cake, despite being an outwardly democratic organ. Then they saw that the level, content, and effectiveness of the discussions at the council was quite different from their expectations. They were also stunned on personal contact with the general. He proved to be a man of all-around erudition, subtlety, and perception, who paid attention both to the opinions of "his supporters" and to those of "others." Now they prize every session and the opportunity to speak there and thus make their contribution to the common cause of national concord in the country.

A council session cannot avoid blunders, as one can learn from reports, although they are extremely rare in such company. Thus Professor Z. Wierzbicki, close to Catholic circles, resorted, for instance, to making the following generalization: "People in Poland have grown tired of socialism." W. Jaruzelski's response was as follows: "I am amazed by this kind of statement. Pardon my sarcasm, but perhaps it is just a question of weariness with politics? We have had socialism in our country for little more than 40 years whereas alcohol, filth, slovenliness, and quarrels have been haunting us for centuries. We must approach such phenomena objectively and analyze them within the categories of the responsibility of several generations. We must do everything to surmount this difficult legacy, which casts a slur on the image of socialism, which has for millions become a system of tremendous opportunity and of social and civilized rebirth. We still need to change and rectify a great deal. However, regardless of this, we must not make things unnecessarily difficult for ourselves or spread a sense of hopelessness: They say that nothing can happen in our country. We must not succumb to these sentiments.

In short, discussion is under way—large-scale, useful, and necessary discussion—although it is sometimes difficult and requires strong nerves and self-possession. But this is all for the sake of the cause. The Consultative Council is continuing its work. "Nighttime discussions between Poles" are already less reminiscent of complaints.

A book will be published in the near future which will contain the transcripts of all seven council sessions. It will undoubtedly be a best-seller. It is always interesting to read things that have not been staged and that have not been touched with the censor's pencil.

Voronin Confers With Poland's Szalajda

PM1107141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Jul—Talks ended here today between L.A. Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of Gossnab, who is in Poland, and Z. Szalajda, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers. There was an exchange of opinions on questions connected with the activity of material and technical supply systems in both countries with a view to their modification. A joint protocol was signed on the results of the talks.

Ryzhkov Discusses Relations With CSSR Leaders

Holds Talks With Husak

LD0807193788 Moscow TASS in English 1833 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 8 TASS—Gustav Husak, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, today received at the Hradcany of Prague Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

In the course of the meeting, much attention was paid to questions of further development of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation in present-day conditions, all-round democratisation and comprehensive restructuring of political, economic and social life of both countries.

The sides underlined the significance of the efforts being undertaken in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to resolve the tasks of the current stage of socialist development and mobilisation of creative energies of the broad popular masses.

Nikolay Ryzhkov, informing Gustav Husak of the results of the 19th all-union party conference, noted that the conference declared in no uncertain terms for restoration in full of the powers of the soviets of people's deputies as sole organs of people's representation, the utmost expansion of publicity and openness of their activities.

It has been underlined that the process of democratisation of all spheres of socio-political life both in the USSR and Czechoslovakia is exerting a favourable impact on broadening contacts between the two countries, their legislative and executive bodies, enterprises and organisations, scientists and workers in culture, the youth, representatives of broad strata of the population.

The determination has been expressed to work through joint efforts towards further deepening of interaction in the course of the current transformations in both countries, to comprehensively strengthen Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship. The fraternal countries' strengthening cooperation in international affairs has been noted with profound satisfaction.

Communique on Visit

PM1107091588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

["Joint Communique on the Offical Friendly Visit to the CSSR by N.I. Ryzhkov, Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Prague, 9 Jul (TASS)—A joint communique has been issued here today on the official friendly visit to the CSSR by N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. It says:

"At the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee and of the CSSR Government, N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, paid an official friendly visit to the CSSR on 4 and 8-9 July 1988.

The head of the Soviet Government was received by M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and G. Husak, president of the CSSR.

Talks were held between N.I. Ryzhkov and L. Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee presidium and head of the CSSR Government. The following also took part:

On the Soviet side: Yu D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan; A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology; B.I. Gostev, USSR Minister of Finance; V.G. Kolesnikov, USSR minister of electronics industry; V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister; and V.P. Lomakin, USSR ambassador to the CSSR.

On the Czechoslovak side: J. Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; R. Rohlicek, first deputy head of the CSSR Government; J. Obzina, deputy head of the CSSR Government and chairman of the State Commission for Scientific, Technical, and Investment Development; L. Gerle, CSSR Minister of Metallurgy, Machine-Building, and Electrical Engineering; J. Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade, J. Zak, CSSR minister of finance; J. Johanes, CSSR first deputy foreign minister; J. Strba, deputy chairman of the CSSR State Planning Commission; and J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR.

N.I. Ryzhkov visited the "Skoda-Plzen" engineering works, a Prague meat combine, the Prague "Kotva" department store, the "Duslo" national enterprise in the town of Sala, and the "friendship" unified agricultural cooperative in the town of Sala in the West Slovak region. Wreathes were laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the national memorial on Vitkov Hill, at the monument to the Soviet troops at the Olsany Cemetery in Prague, and also at the Slavin monument and the Slovak national uprising monument in Bratislava.

During the talks, which were held in a fraternal and cordial atmosphere, N.I. Ryzhkov and L. Strougal exchanged information on the progress of restructuring and democratizing socio-political life in the USSR and the CSSR, and of implementing the plans for socio-economic development mapped out by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 17th CPCZ Congress. They also examined the state of, and prospects for, Soviet-CSSR cooperation in the economic, scientific-technical, and other fields. In addition, an exchange of opinions was held on topical issues of the situation in Europe and the rest of the world.

The CSSR side was informed about the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which, having revealed contradictions and complexities in the initial stage of restructuring in the USSR, approved unanimously the course of the CPSU Central Committee toward the rebirth of Leninist principles of party activity, the democratization of all aspects of the life of society, the reform of the political system and the consistent implementation of radical transformations in the economy. Implementation of the program mapped

out by the conference will make it possible to accelerate the processes of a truly revolutionary renewal of Soviet society and to use in full measure the entire very rich potential of socialist rule by the people.

The head of the CSSR Government stressed the deep interest with which the Communists and the CSSR people have followed the work of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. This historic forum has confirmed that the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society is irreversible and has determined the paths of its further development. The decisions of the conference find support amongst broad strata of the CSSR people and are a source of inspiration in their efforts to carry out the complicated tasks of socialist construction in the cssr.

L. Strougal outlined the progress of the economic reform, aimed at accelerating the country's socio-economic development, the introduction of scientific and technical progress in production and ensurieng—on the basis of this—the raising of the living standards of working people. The importance of work being done in the CSSR to further improve socialist democracy and to strengthen the rule of the people was noted.

The sides stated that the transformations taking place in the Soviet Union and the CSSR have much in common, notwithstanding the specific features inherent in each of the countries. As a result, new prospects are being opened up for the ongoing development of Soviet-CSSR cooperation and for enhancing its effectiveness.

The main attention at the talks was given over to the implementation of the accords reached at the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee about deepening the economic integration of the two countries. Work on the consistent implementation of these is aimed at making maximum use both of the production potential of each country and of the advantages of the international socialist division of labor. The pressing need to introduce more actively new progressive forms of economic cooperation was particularly stressed.

There was also an examination of progress in fulfilling measures agreed at meetings between the heads of the USSR and CSSR Governments to speed up joint development work; to assimilate new types of output, including within the framework of the implementation of the integrated program for the scientific and technical progress of the CEMA countries up to the year 2,000 to deepen specialization and cooperation in production; and to improve further the mechanism for economic collaboration.

The sides agreed to instruct the appropriate bodies in the USSR and the CSSR, proceeding on the basis of the level of trade turnover achieved and taking into account the results of the current year, to continue the work to draw up the optimum volumes of reciprocal trade and economic cooperation for the years 1989-90 with a simultaneous resolving of issues of balancing the accounts.

It was noted with satisf-ction that Soviet-CSSR cooperation is become more and more diverse and is acquiring a qualitatively new content. The concept of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and the CSSR for 15-20 years ahead, on which joint work is proceeding, ought to provide fresh impetus to the process of integrating the national economies of the two countries. Important attention in this will be paid to coordinating the plans for the coming 5-Year Plan.

On the bais of how important it is to develop cooperation and specialization of production, the USSR and the CSSR intend to make more intensive use of such new and mutually beneficial forms of cooperation as direct production links, joint enterprises, collectives of scientists and experts, and international associations and consortiums, including with the participation of third countries.

During the exchange of opinions on the prospects for cooperation in machine-building and the electronics industry, the basic tasks that have to be resolved by joint efforts were determined: to raise the technological level and the quality of output that is supplied by each of the two countries; to assimilate in the shortest possible time the production of modern technology; and to increase the Soviet export of machines, equipment, and items of the electronics industry to the CSSR.

Confirmation was given of the resolve to vigorously promote the consistent implementation of the decisions of the 44th CEMA session, the restructuring of the cooperation mechanism within the framework of CEMA and of bilateral economic relations, and the creation of the necessary conditions for gradually forming a unified market in the socialist countries.

During an examination of international issues, complete unity of views in assessing the world situation was confirmed. It was noted with satisfaction that the new political thinking is having a beneficial effect on establishing a climate of trust in relations between states, and the resolve was expressed to do everything possible to consolidate positive trends in international affairs.

Emphasis was placed on the particular significance of the Moscow meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan, which was a major event in international life. Its main outcome was a deepening of the political dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States and creation of a constructive basis for the long-term development of relations between the two countries.

In this connection, the CSSR side expressed its complete support for the principled and, at the same time, flexible foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, which has already produced its first positive results, above all, in the shape of the accord between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. Expressing their satisfaction over the treaty's entry into force, the sides stressed the need to consistently advance the disarmament process.

The USSR and the CSSR consider that at the present time the achievement of an agreement between the USSR and the United States on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons in conditions of observing the ABM Treaty and of not pulling out of it during the agreed period is an important task. In the long term, the efforts of the sides will continue to be aimed at a stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons and at the creation of an all-embracing system of international peace and security.

The participants in the talks note that at the third special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, the voice of the world community resolutely sounded out in favor of creating a non-nuclear and non-violent world on our planet. At the same time, stereotypes of the old thinking also emerged. The main thing, however, was the fact that during the session, new ideas and proposals were put forward which must be actively made part of practical policy.

In resolutely supporting the further development of the pan-European process, the heads of the Governments of the USSR and the CSSR noted the priority nature of drawing up a mandate for starting talks as quickly as possible on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. The process of reducing conventional weapons must begin with the removal of existing imbalances and asymmetries. In this connection, the exchange of corresponding data and the carrying out of the necessary verification would be of great importance. It is necessary to lower military potentials to the level of defensive sufficiency.

The sides expressed themselves in favor of the Vienna meeting being completed as quickly as possible with substantial political results, which would help to take the all-European process up to a qualitatively new level and unite the efforts of all countries of the continent in the cause of constructing a "common European home". The Soviet side stressed the importance of the CSSR proposal on the convening of an all-European economic forum. Advocating the development and deepening of economic, scientific and technical cooperation in Europe, the USSR and the CSSR welcome the establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EEC, viewing this step as a contribution to the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act.

The USSR and the CSSR attach great importance to the implementation of the peace initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states and support the constructive proposals of other countries and political forces aimed at creating in Europe a climate of trust and the expansion of close cooperation in all spheres. The Soviet side highly appraised and stressed the importance of the practical implementation of the all-embracing intiative put forward by M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, on setting up a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line where the Warsaw Pact states and the NATO countries come into contact. N.I. Ryzhkov described the progress of implementation of the Geneva agreements on a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, drawing attention at the same time to the systematic violations by the Pakistani side of obligations that it assumed. In this connection, emphasis was placed upon the particular responsibility of Pakistan for the situation that is emerging, and also of the United States, which acts as guarantor of the Geneva agreements. The hope was expressed that realism, common sense, and a feeling of responsibility to the international community will ultimately prevail in the leadership of these countries.

The sides spoke in support of the process of national reconciliation in Cambodia and welcomed the decision of the SRV and PRK Governments on the withdrawal in 1988 of half of the personnel of the Vietnamese military contingent which is in that country. They regard all this as a constructive contribution to settling the regional conflict in Southeast Asia and to the process of eliminating military tension in that area of the world.

In the discussion of the situation in other regions, serious concern was expressed at the state of affairs in the Near East, Central America, and southern Africa; the determination actively to aid the political settlement of the centers of tension and conflicts which exist in the world was confirmed.

The heads of government stressed the urgent need for a solution of global problems related to protection of the environment and the rational use of natural resources. In this connection, readiness to step up joint actions to ensure international ecological safety was expressed.

During the visit, a program of cooperation was signed between the USSR and the CSSR in the development of nuclear power engineering in the CSSR until the year 2000.

N.I. Ryzhkov expressed his sincere gratitude to the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR Government for the hospitality they have shown, and he voiced his profound satisfaction over the fruitful outcome of the talks that were held.

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers handed L. Strougal, the head of CSSR Government, an invitation to pay the Soviet Union an official friendly visit. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Holds Prague News Conference

PM1107123988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 July 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under headline "Strategy of Cooperation; Press Conference in Prague"]

[Text] Prague, 9 Jul—The official friendly visit to the CSSR by N.I. Ryzhkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Council of Ministers chairman, is ending. A news conference for Czechoslovak and foreign journalists was held here.

Addressing them, N.I. Ryzhkov said: Esteemed comrades, ladies and gentlemen: Let me begin by sharing some of my impressions and assessments with you. I think that our visit to the CSSR, even if it has not yet ended, can be considered very useful. It has enabled us to feel the pulse of the public, political, and economic life of this fraternal country. Tight bonds of common interests, historical destinies, cultural and other traditions, as well as the feelings of affection that our peoples feel for each other, link the Soviet Union with it.

On our part, we have tried to convey to Czechoslovak comrades our understanding of the political results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, its creative and revolutionary spirit, and to brief our friends on the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union.

At the same time, it is very useful for us to get acquainted with the Czechoslovak experience in renewing socialist society and tackling the questions of accelerating the country's socio-economic development. We were able to learn a great deal from the meetings that have already been held in Prague and Plzen and which, as we expect, will be complemented by the impressions we will receive when visiting Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia.

On saying good-bye to Prague, I would like, first and foremost, to express deep gratitude to the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, and the workers of the republic for the reception given to our delegation.

During a thorough conversation with Comrade M. Jakes, CPCZ C...tral Committee general secretary, we exchanged views on the great changes occurring in our countries and the processes of restructuring, and discussed basic guidelines for enhancing the effectiveness of bilateral cooperation. During our examination of international issues, we both agreed there is a need to continue, together with other fraternal countries, efforts to strengthen peace and security in Europe and worldwide.

The conversation with CSSR President G. Husak was highly substantive.

The talks with Comrade L. Strougal, the chairman of the CSSR Government, took in a broad range of issues relating to Soviet-Czechoslovak relations. Great attention was devoted to the prospects for developing economic links between our countries, aimed at deepening specialization and cooperation in production and the more intensive introduction of new progressive forms of cooperation. All this will help our countries implement radical structural changes in the economy, which are essential for their further socio-economic progress.

We also exchanged views on a number of foreign policy problems and agreed to continue to cooperate closely in international affairs, making full use of the favorable factors which have arisen, with the aim of moving the disarmament process forward.

We are grateful to our hospitable hosts for the businesslike and interesting program, which has helped us to acquaint ourselves with some aspects of the life and labor of the fraternal Czechoslovak people.

Without going into details, I will say one main thing: When visiting industrial and trading enterprises, we felt a concern for the individual and a respect for him. This is reflected primarily in the working conditions and recreation environment for workers and office staff, the development of the social sphere, and concern for the working woman. We will think seriously about making use of the CSSR's experience back home.

Czechoslovakia has achieved a well-deserved reputation by reaching virtual self-sufficiency in basic foodstuffs. It is clear from its example what agricultural production developing on a socialist basis can achieve.

We are scheduled to acquaint ourselves with the development of agriculture in the Slovak Socialist Republic. A number of Soviet kolkhozes and sovkhozes have established close links with Czechoslovak partners in livestock farming and are exchanging experience in the intensive cultivation of some food and fooder crops. It is probably no coincidence that the first joint Soviet-Czechoslovak laboratory was set up specifically in biotechnology.

We are beginning to actively revive the cooperative movement. As everyone knows, this subject was also discussed at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. I think that Soviet cooperatives, too, are not indifferent to the rich traditions of the Czechoslovak cooperative movement, and primarily where production is concerned. They can be useful for adjusting mutually beneifcial relations.

The system of workers taking part voluntarily in providing amenities in their population centers which has developed in the CSSR and which is known here—the so-called Z campaign [community self-improvement program]—is of interest. This experience, especially in light of the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, could be actively used in our country, too.

Both of us come across major problems today. Further development of society will depend on whether they are solved correctly. In this connection, exchanges of experience and our desire to learn from one another and to take all that other countries have found useful are now vital. We aspire to fully reveal potential opportunities on which the socialist social system is based. A great role in this belongs to CEMA.

What can be said about the 44th CEMA session which has just ended?

It has, above all, confirmed the effort of the fraternal countries to renew the system of economic cooperation and give a new quality to mutual relations. The search for new approaches to the development of integrational interaction, which distinguish the proceedings of the session, meet the spirit of the times and the requirements of the present development stage.

The decisions create the conditions for implementing major structural reorganizations. The collective concept of international socialist division of labor defines the strategic goals and directions for developing socialist economic integration and the cardinal advances in specialization between and within industries. We advocate the wide use of this concept in developing bilateral concepts of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between CEMA member countries.

The main thrust of restructuring the cooperation mechanism between CEMA member countries is to create prerequisites for the formation of a single socialist market.

Alongside this, the socialist countries are trying to actively participate in world economic links, on the basis of the concept of the new economic order.

We believe that in East-West relations, we need to clear the field of economic and scientific-technical exchanges of various kinds of obstacles and strengthen trust in every possible way. We assume that establishing official relations between CEMA and the EEC will serve this, too. This is indeed a major political event, one in accordance with our common interests.

As was noted during the conversations and talks in Prague, new approaches are also yielding encouraging results in foreign policy. This is convincingly confirmed by the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow and the ratification of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, which has paved the way for gradually freeing our continent of nuclear arsenals. A realistic approach to the complexities and interrelated nature of phenomena in the modern world and a search for a balance of interests have been reflected in specific steps and initiatives by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and other fraternal countries.

I would like to recall that it was precisely here in the Czechoslovak capital that M.S. Gorbachev advanced the idea of creating an "all-European home," which is winning ever greater recognition.

On the issue of ensuring peace and security in Europe, the task of reducing conventional armaments and armed forces is moving into first place. All fraternal socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia, took part in the development of the initiative that the Warsaw Treaty states came out with in Budapest in 1986.

The forthcoming conference of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee in the Polish capital will define our countries' additional steps in the European sphere.

We are convinced that understanding by the world's peoples of the common nature of their vital interests is growing and deepening. This strengthens the certainty that awareness of the need for cooperation, for the purpose of creating an all-embracing system of international peace and security which would correspond to the interests of all peoples, will forge a path for itself.

The Soviet Government head answered questions from journalists.

More on News Briefing

LD0807230288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] [Announcer] Esteemed comrades! We now have for your attention a report on a news conference given in Prague today by Comrade Ryzhkov, who is in Czechoslovakia on an official friendly visit.

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] I would like, first of all, to acquaint you with the matters which we have been working on in Prague and to give you some impressions. This visit involved taking part in the 44th CEMA session which took place in Prague and making an official visit by the head of the Soviet Government.

Regarding the CEMA meeting, the main issue discussed the document "The International Division of Labor Concept." You know that our socialist countries will complete the 5-year plan in 1990 and will embark on the next 5-year plan for 1991-1995. Every country is working on its prospects up to the year 2000. The Soviet Union is working on the prospects for its economic and social development up to the year 2005. This is why the need—and there was agreement on this at the November 1986 meeting in Moscow between the leaders of our parties—to draw up a joint concept for the international division of labor which would lay the foundation for our work in the community as a whole and each country independently.

We attach tremendous importance to elaborating this concept because in the decades since our community, our economic community, was formed very big changes have taken place both in each country and also in our

community as a whole. This is why structural changes are taking place in each country, and we have to adjust [otregulirovat] these processes so that we do not duplicate anywhere, so that our economies develop more effectively, so that they complement one another and do not work against each another.

This is the main task which was posed when the concept, which we discussed here in Prague, was elaborated. The concept was approved by the participants, although there were also certain critical observations and all sorts of additions. That is a natural process, because the concept did not go into specifics very much. It would obviously be premature at this stage to work on the specifics, that is, to fill it with various figures and the share and participation of each country in this or that area of economic development. That is the next stage. But the fundamental provisions which we formulated here met with support; and now that provides the basis for our planning bodies and the economic bodies of all the countries to start studying this document in greater detail, in order for us to develop concrete proposals for the development of this or that area of the economic development of each country in the next 5-year period. This must enter our future work in forming the development of the economy of each of the countries. This is what applies to the concept for economic development.

The second matter, a very serious matter, is this: We talked about the fact that it is necessary for us to considerably change our economic relations between our countries. The stimulus for this was also provided in November 1986, and great work has been done in these 2 years, around 2 years. Whereas at the last session, the 43d, we still approached this matter fairly.... [Ryzhkov changes thought] with large provisions which were still unclear—that is to say, there was still some sort of major search in progress for the direction in which we should go and for what we should lay down in the matter of the new economic mechanism. It is now beginning, more or less, to appear in outline, and the main guidelines according to which we should proceed were virtually already formulated at this session.

Naturally, the question arises: Why do we need all this? If we socialist countries develop normally and dynamically, why do we today need any sort of cardinal changes in our relations? We believe—and this is not only the opinion of the Soviet side, it is the opinion of many countries of the socialist community—that we had exhausted, we had exhausted our possibilities in the economic model of mutual relations which was adopted, that is, in our countries several tens of years ago. Therefore, an acute need to change those methods, to change the principles, and to change the instruments of interaction was due. So, we are working on this. What does it mean? It is difficult, and it would be necessary to spend a long time talking about what we must do, but we believe—and this is supported by the majority of the countries of the socialist community—that we must go over gradually to a socialist market, the creation of a single socialist market, depart to the greatest possible degree from barter operations and go over to commodity-money relations. We should do this in order to buy freely this or that type of production in our system and to sell it in a corresponding manner.

This will make it possible to introduce elements of competition. It will make it possible to raise the quality of the output produced. It will make it possible to raise the effectiveness of production. That is the opinion regarding the socialist market, and we have reached firm agreement that we will now, that we are taking this stance, and we will now begin to set about filling it out with specific content, as they say. We understand that this is a lenghty process. It is a process that will take more than just 1 year. It cannot be a situation of the kind where today we have adopted a proposal or provisions concerning the socialist market, and tomorrow it makes its appearance. Of course, this is a lengthy process. It requires deep analysis. It requires gradual progress. But we believe that gradually, step by step, you must move in this direction.

Other changes are also being mapped out in our economic relations. These concern certain questions of scientific and technical cooperation. We believe that a very great deal of work has to be done on setting prices. The situation today that is emerging with setting prices between the socialist countries is acting as a very great brake. As far as operations involving the exchange of goods are concerned, here things are more straightforward. But as far as setting up joint enterprises and joint organizations is concerned, here, indeed, as they say, is the root of the trouble. It is very difficult for enterprises to work with each other when the system of prices is totally different in the Soviet Union, say, in Czechoslovakia, or in Hungary. Questions concerning the convertibility of the national currencies have become topical. We also believe that it is essential to resolve these questions and we will resolve them.

So there is a whole package of measures which must be implemented in order to activate international cooperation. That, briefly, is what I have to say about the CEMA session. I have told you about it in a somewhat condensed form, about the work that took place there and the decisions that were made.

The second part of my briefing amounts to this: During this same period, that is to say, from Monday to Saturday, I am carrying out an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia as Council of Ministers chairman of our country. I do this with great pleasure, with great joy, because I know Czechoslovakia, and it has been very pleasant for me once again to visit this country, to meet the comrades, to exchange opinions, and to look at how Czechoslovakia lives. We must learn from each other; each country has something good that can be adopted and put into service. That happens in any country, and I think that wise politicians have always done that, and it must be done.

During the visit, which will end tomorrow in Bratislava, we have had thorough conversations with Comrade Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary. We had a conversation today. We talked in very great detail. I tried to inform Comrade Jakes about the questions that are under discussion today in the Soviet Union. Of course, the main question is the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which has just taken place in our country.

Comrade Jakes described in detail the CPCZ work, the achievements that have been made, and the issues on which the Central Committee is at present working. We thus had very thorough conversations. We believe that this will enable us to have a clearer understanding of each other's positions on many issues. That is to say, we conveyed information, and this information is very useful.

There has just been a meeting with Comrade Husak, the president. We also met as old friends and comrades. We conveyed information about Soviet domestic affairs. Comrade Husak described in detail certain issues concerning Czechoslovak society.

Therefore, we have had very thorough conversations with Comrade Jakes and Comrade Husak.

On Monday, and throughout the past few days, we have had several meetings, including official talks, with Comrade Strougal, the head of the Czechoslovak Government. We discussed with him matters concerning the multilateral economic, scientific-technical, and social development of our community. They had come up during the CEMA session, but we discussed these matters, of course, in more detail. We paid particular attention, of course, to our bilateral relations. We have longstanding good economic relations with Czechoslovakia. We have always been satisfied with each other, although we realize that even in all good relationships there are always questions that need working out and that require definite decisions. Such matters have, of course, built up between our countries, too. We, therefore, covered them in detail.

It was also our view that we are insufficiently using the potential of both Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union on various issues relating to economic development. This concerns, first and foremost, the processing and machine-building industries. In my view, we are duplicating each other in many ways instead of supplementing each other. This means that Czechoslovakia has to make a very large number of machines and a broad range of them, and we realize that it is intolerable for such a country to try to do everything. Obviously, it is necessary to concentrate definite efforts on definite areas, and the other country should add ensuing areas. This, then, is economically effective, and this is what must be done. Therefore, we agreed that we will work out these issues in greater detail, and we hope that this situation will improve in the future.

International matters, topics which are today, as they say, burning, were also discussed with all the comrades, with Comrade Jakes, Comrade Husak, and Comrade Strougal. We have our common stance and a common view of our countries regarding the main international problems. We do not have any divergencies whatsoever. We firmly adhere to one line. [end recording]

[Announcer] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov replied to journalists' questions.

Akos Balassa Discusses Hungarian Reform

PM0607120188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Jul 88 p 9

[Interview with Akos Balassa, deputy chairman of the Hungarian National Technological Development Commission, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA special correspondent Pavel Volin in Budapest: "Socialist Pluralism: Where and in What?"; date of interview not given]

[Text] I had met with Akos Balassa, an active champion of economic reform, on more than one occasion at the Hungarian National Planning Office, where he was head of a leading administration for many years. This time our meeting coincided with his transfer to new work as deputy chairman of the National Technological Development Commission.

I came to Budapest at a significant time. It was a few days before the opening of our party conference and the MSZMP conference has just finished. Naturally, these events were central to our conversation.

But we began, as ever, with the current Hungarian economic situation. I said:

"Last year you achieved, for the first time in several years, balance in foreign trade, which is particularly significant for your country, am I right?"

[Balassa] Yes it balanced out. But for a long time before that the account was in debit. There is a gradual improvement taking place, little by little. Moreover, in the first months of this year the volume of exports rose more quickly than in subsequent months. So there is no cause for celebration. We have still not managed to eliminate the most inefficient production facilities. The government and the banks, under pressure from local bodies and departments, are resolutely and consistently failing to do this. We say that socialism is the triumph of common interests, but departmental interests are prevailing.

Over the past year the country has been more concerned with political than with economic reform. It is clear that one cannot proceed further along the path of economic reform unless the political system is improved—no, I'm sorry, that is a bad word; changed is better. Rezso Nyers said this at the end of the sixties and beginning of the seventies and it was for this, in particular, that he was removed from the Politburo. The fact that he has now

been elected to the Politburo is the political rehabilitation of a man who was the most energetic and resolute advocate of reform in the previous leadership. It is also of symbolic significance: The party is returning to the path of consistent implementation of reform. We were mistaken to think that reform is a simple act. It is a long and difficult process.

In 1984 the party, having adopted important documents on improving the economic mechanism, did not dare utter the word "reform," and it was not entirely clear whether the party was for it or not. It became more and more evident that political transformations were necessary. And that is what the former leadership was afraid of. A big debate was needed. You know, I am so glad that Imre Pozsgay, general secretary of the Patriotic People's Front, has also become a member of the Politburo. If economic reform is associated with Nyers, political reform is associated with Pozsgay.

[Volin] What is the point of the political reform? This is topical for us as well.

[Balassa] Socialist pluralism.

[Volin] In what form, in what context?

[Balassa] This is being debated. We do not have a complete idea and complete unity.

[Volin] Does the one-party system remain?

[Balassa] There are different views. It remains for the moment. Comrade Kadar said that the one-party system arose historically. But a multiparty system has existed in history. History changes situations. I personally believe that when relations ceased to be as strained as they are at the moment, the question could appear on the agenda.

[Volin] Relations between whom?

[Balassa] I will deal with that in a moment.... I will pursue my idea. Enlightened socialism could have a multiparty system, because debate is necessary: How do we proceed in the future and by what means; what will the strategy and tactics be, and so forth. If we believe in our ideals and are convinced that socialism is a more progressive system and that capitalism is historically doomed, then what have we to be afraid of? I believe there are no objective conditions for the return of capitalism. Therefore, pluralism under socialism does not lead to capitalism, and sooner or later we will arrive at a multiparty system

But there is another problem: different opinions in the party itself. The more we are against platforms and factions in the party, the more resolutely society will demand a multiparty system. Unless there is pluralism in the party it will arise outside the party. Therefore, if we wanty the one-party system to remain for the time being, we must permit different organized views inside the party.

Now I will answer your question: Between whom have relations become strained? Comrade Pozsgay put it plainly at the conference: Differences of opinion have arisen between the party and society. But the singular fact is that ordinary party members and society have adopted a common stance, with the leadership in the minority. Conflict between them and the actual party is inevitable. Many members of the old Politburo were not even elected to the Central Committee.

Now everyone is agreed that changes are needed. But there are different opinions on the form they should take. We must think about this now and discuss it to find the best solutions.

Soviet-Romanian Consumer Goods Trade Described

PM0807142788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Vedrashko dispatch: "Soviet-Romanian Contacts Are Being Broadened By Common Efforts"]

[Text] Bucharest—Soviet color televisions enjoy a good reputation in Romania and are in high demand—there is a waiting list for them. The advertisement placed by the "Tekhnointorg" All-Union Association in REVISTA EKONOMIKE on the upcoming specialized exhibition, of course, played its part; many visitors came to acquaint themselves with samples of TV equipment from the USSR—above all, businessmen. It was the first time that "Shilyalis," "Rubin," "Selena," "Elektron," and "Foton" televisions had been so widely displayed in Romania.

The exhibition, which closed recently, confirmed that our output is popular here and that people are studying it and are keen to buy it. More than 100,000 apartments are built annually in Romania. Naturally, new homeowners furnishing their apartment also want to buy new television sets. Active cooperation between interested Soviet and Romanian organizations is intended to meet this requirement.

In the period 1985-1987 our country sold Romania approximately 200,000 color and monochrome televisions. In view of the demand a further increase in supplies of this output is envisaged. The interest here is reciprocal.

"Tekhnointorg" buys gas cookers in Romania for the Soviet Union. Townspeople are familiar with the "Karpaty-17" trademark. This year Romania will supply our country with something in the order of 200,000 cookers,

and if you compare this figure with the number of apartments commissioned in the year it looks as though the proportion of Romanian cookers is extremely impressive.

Televisions, freightcars, gas cookers, oil equipment, radios, raw metals, tape recorders, optical instruments, and a great many other things are just part of our involvement with our Romanian friends and of our fraternal cooperation, which is developing fruitfully on the basis of the agreements that have been concluded. Today it is exactly 18 years since the signing of the Soviet-Romanian Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. This document developed the terms of the first treaty, dated 4 February 1948, and determined the basic avenues for comprehensive cooperation in all spheres of the political, economic, and social life of our peoples and states.

Soviet-Romanian ties are strengthening and contacts are broadening. Party and state leaders, economists, specialists, and cultural figures are today discussing specific problems, exchanging experience, and learning from one another.

West Europe

Bavarian Delegation Arrives for Trade Talks

LD0407230788 Moscow TASS in English 1700 GMT 4 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 4 TASS—The purpose of a visit to the USSR of a delegation representing the government of the land of Bavaria and 61 Bavarian firms is to further develop cooperation with Soviet ministries. The delegation is led by Gerold Tandler, minister of economy and transport of the Bavarian government.

From the Soviet side, representatives of eight machine-building ministries and ten ministries of other branches are taking part in the talks. The Soviet delegation is led by Oleg Zinchenko, deputy chairman of the Bureau for Machine-Building of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The first plenary session of the two delegations was held today. Apart from talks, a program of the stay in the USSR of Bavarian guests includes visits to a number of industrial enterprises. It is noteworthy that about 80 percent of the firms represented in the Bavarian delegation are establishing contacts with Soviet partners for the first time.

Bavaria, one of the West German industrial centres, maintains close business relations with the USSR. The Bavarian government continually keeps questions connected with the development of economic relations with the USSR within its field of vision. For instance, those questions featured prominently at the talks held in Moscow recently by Franz-Josef Strauss, chairman of the Christian Social Union.

Concluding talks between the guests and Soviet representatives will be held next Wednesday.

Business Relations Assessed

LD0507131988 Moscow TASS in English 1016 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 5 TASS—Gerold Tandler, secretary general of the Christian Social Union party of the Federal Republic of Germany and Bavaria's minister of economics and transport, said he positively assessed the possibilities of developing business relations between West Germany and the Soviet Union. He is heading a large delegation, which includes representatives of the Bavarian government and industrial firms, which is visiting in the Soviet Union at the invitation [words indistinct] Bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Speaking about these relations, Gerold Tandler said in an interview to TASS correspondent Lev, [words indistinct] one cannot help pointing to the unsolved problems. In this connection the head of the Bavarian delegation cited facts on the unbalanced nature of bilateral trade. For example, in 1987 Bavaria purchased 2.7 billion marks of Soviet goods, while Bavarian exports to the USSR amounted only to some 700 million marks.

On restructuring of the economic mechanism, Gerold Tandler said that, judging by everything, the new thinking is yet to be introduced in the sphere of the economy and practically expand the rights of plant managers in a way, in which Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, raises this problem. [sentence as received]

The current visit to the Soviet Union, the minister continued, will bring no dramatic changes, but will mark an important stage in the progressive development of bilateral trade and economic relations.

Gerold Tandler said he believed that no miracles should be expected from the so-called joint ventures. The Soviet Union has all possibilities to become one of the highly developed nations in terms of economy. This is a long-term process and the activity of joint Soviet-West Germany enterprises is only one of its constituent parts.

Gerold Tandler described the recent visit to the USSR Franz-Josef Strauss, chairman of the CSU party and Bavaria's prime minister, as a turning point in the development of economic cooperation between Bavaria and the Soviet side. The very fact of the visit is evidence that the Soviet Union had a different attitude than before to one of the leading West German politicians. This was said by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Moscow. Very serious and thorough talks were held in Moscow at high level at that time. The meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev impressed all members of the delegation. It was at that time that a foundation was laid which can be systematically expanded.

"All of us followed closely the 19th all-union party conference on television and press reports," the Bavarian politician said. "We were greatly impressed by the openness of discussions in the Soviet Union, which until recently was quite unthinkable."

Joint Agreements Signed

LD0707020788 Hamburg DPA in German 1520 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA/VWD)—Bavaria and the Soviet Union want to expand and cooperate in their economic relations, particularly in mechanical engineering. This was said today in Moscow by Gerold Tandler, the Bavarian minister of economics minister. Two joint venture agreements were signed during the Bavarian delegation's visit. One involved a firm from Augsburg which produces machines for cleaning textiles.; the other concerned a firm which did not wish to be named.

Agreements, Meetings Reported

LD0707092588 Moscow TASS in English 1834 GMT 6 Jul 88

[text] Moscow July 6 TASS—The visit to the USSR by the government and economic delegation of Bavaria ended today with the signing of a memorandum which envisages expansion of business contacts between Soviet enterprises and organisations and Bavarian firms.

The document was signed by Oleg Zinchenko, deputy chairman of the Bureau for Machinery Building of the USSR Council of Ministers, and by Gerold Tandler, Bavarian minister of economics and transport.

The Bavarian delegation held talks in Moscow and Leningrad discussing prospects for broadening bilateral economic cooperation in the field of machine building with the use of new cooperation forms. The opinion of the two sides is that the establishment of joint ventures is the higher form of mutually beneficial cooperation and that medium-sized and small firms should be drawn into the process more widely.

The Soviet side handed over proposals on Bavarian firms' participation in the modernization and reconstruction of light and food industry enterprises, comprehensive development of the natural resources of the Kola Peninsula as well as the construction of a big petrochemical complex in Nizhnevartovsk (Siberia).

Agreement to set up a Soviet-Bavarian working subgroup to study the possibility of establishing a joint centre for the training of personnel in the field of management, including that for joint ventures, was reached during the talks.

Today the Saratov Experimental Production Association Elektronbytpribor (Volga area) signed basic documents with Boewe firm on the establishment of a joint venture for the manufacture of machinery for the dry cleaning of textile goods. The manufacture of the machines is to begin this year. In three years time it is planned to produce 1,000 dry cleaning machines, a half of which will be supplied to Boewe firm for marketing in all West European countries.

The USSR Ministry of the Automobile Industry has concluded cooperation agreements on the production of hydromechanical drives for buses and up-to-date welding equipment, while the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machinery Building on the production of engines for lorries.

During the stay in the Soviet Union Gerold Tandler was received by Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Konstantin Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations of the USSR, Viktor Gerashchenko, first deputy chairman of the board of the Bank for Foreign Economic Activities of the USSR, and by Marin Marinov, deputy secretary of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA).

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaragua Denies Visit by Soviet Submarine

LD0907075388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0717 GMT 9 Jul 88

["Unmasking a Forgery"—TASS headline]

[Text] Managua, 9 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondent A. Kurguzov reports:

Sandinist television has issued a refutation of a routine anti-Soviet forgery fabricated by the Nicaraguan reactionary newspaper LA PRENSA quoting a "secret" Pentagon report.

On the previous day the newspaper sensationally reported that a very large Soviet Typhoon class submarine with SS-20 nuclear missiles on board had entered the Nicaraguan port of Corinto. According to LA PRENSA, this alarmed the U.S. military department as it was a serious threat to U.S. national security." [quote marks as received] The paper went on to accuse the USSR of using military airfields in Nicaragua, where the latest Soviet MiG-21 aircraft allegedly land.

In a television interview, Ricardo Wheelock, head of military intelligence of the Sandinist Peoples Army, said that "this sensation was part of a slander campaign unleased by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency and the reactionaries with the aim of discrediting the revolutionary government." LA PRENSA's attacks are aimed at accusing the Nicaraguan Government of "expansion," of the arms race, and depicting the republic in the role of an aggressor capable of seizing neighboring democratic states with the aid of the USSR, he said.

The Americans more than anyone else should have reliable information that not one Nicaraguan port is adapted to receive such vessels. This newspaper report demonstrates the irresponsible position of the reactionary press, since its statements do not contain a single word of truth. This is not just a violation of journalistic ethics, but also a direct challenge to the people's power, R. Wheelock noted.

Ortega Addresses 'Peasants' on Economy, U.S.
LD0807092188 Moscow TASS in English 0841 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Managua July 8 TASS—The struggle for the economic survival of the Sandinist revolution and the revival of the country is no less important than the struggle against an imperialist aggression imposed on the Nicaraguan people, President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua has stated. Addressing peasants of Matagalpa Department at a rally that was broadcast by radio and TV in the "Facing the Nation" program, he pointed out that the struggle for production actually amounted to the protection of the revolutionary gains.

Ortega urged the working people of the republic to work selflessly and to overcome the acute economic crisis. Answering the question if the people accepted the economic policy of the leadership, the peasants expressed full support for the measures taken by the Sandinist government with a view to curbing the inflation and eliminating the "black market".

The president emphasized that the economic difficulties of Nicaragua were largely brought about by the aggression unleashed by the U.S. Administration and implemented with the help of mercenary gangs.

The Nicaraguan leadership spares no effort for resolving the problem by peaceful means and sticks to its commitment to stop offensive operations, Ortega continued. At the same time recent terrorist actions of the contras show that Washington has not given up its intention to deal with the Sandinist revolution by military methods.

A policy of state terrorism pursued by the U.S. Administration is in line with actions constituting open interference in the affairs of other nations. The tragedy in the Persian Gulf which claimed the lives of 300 civilians was an act of outright violation of all the standards of international law. These actions are the result of the terrorist and interventionist policy of the U.S. Administration, the Nicaraguan president pointed out.

Sandinist Official Condemns 'Melton Plan'
LD0807092088 Moscow TASS in English 0832 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Managua July 8 TASS—A political situation around Nicaragua vividly demonstrates the intention of the ruling circles of the U.S. Administration and of the mercenary counterrevolutionaries to count on the destabilization of the situation in the country and the disrupting of a peaceful settlement process. This was pointed out Thursday at a meeting with Nicaraguan working people by Bayardo Arce, deputy coordinator of the Executive Commission of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front.

A so-called "Melton Plan" named after a new U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua and aimed at creating broad internal opposition to the Sandinist National Liberation Front and the revolutionary government was made public recently, Bayardo Arce said. The internal and external reactionary forces united by their hatred for the Sandinist revolution believe that the first thing to do would be to oust the Sandinist National Liberation Front and form a new "National Salvation Government" headed by Bermudez, colonel of the former Somozist Guard and one of today's leaders of the mercenary counterrevolutionary gangs. The purpose of the conspiracy of the counterrevolutionary forces and Washington is to eliminate people's power and the revolutionary gains, to create an atmosphere of chaos and instability in the country.

With the help of propaganda tricks the internal reactionary forces seek to create the impression that the Sandinist National Liberation Front is fully isolated inside the country, that all the sections of the population oppose its policy. This was the purpose of an invitation sent recently to President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica to head a commission for monitoring the observance by Nicaragua of peace agreements. These actions are another attempt of the ultra-right-wing forces to deceive the world community, to convince the world public of the "unjust" nature of the existing social system in Nicaragua and to create conditions for the elimination of people's power and the restoration of the pro-American reactionary regime, Bayardo Arce pointed out.

Political & Social

Further on Strikes, Rallies in Armenian Capital

PRAVDA on Airport Events

PM0807160188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 88 Second Editio.. p 8

[A. Sarkisyan report under the rubric "Stop Press": "Yerevan, 7 July"]

[Text] There are virtually no buses, trolley cars, or trams to be seen on the streets. People who want to travel on business or to work throng around the stops. Enterprises are on the whole not operating. The economic damage is estimated at millions of rubles. The republic's economy has close links with other regions of the country. Neighbors are, naturally, suffering from the disruption of supplies.

I telephoned several rayons in the republic and asked: What is the situation like there?

G. Oganyan, first secretary of Kirovakan party gorkom, reported:

"Some 70 percent of enterprises are working. The city's basic work rhythm has not been upset. The explanatory work we are carrying out at collectives is meeting with a response. People realize that strikes are not a form of protest or struggle to attain a goal."

When news came from Yerevan 6 July to Dilizhan, workers at the "Impuls" Plant came out for a rally. While supporting a number of the demands made on Theater Square in Yerevan, the people of Dilizhan nonetheless decided to work.

"In my line of duty," Veteran of Labor Albert Grigoryevich Abazyan, said in conversation, "I often go out on business trips to various cities. I have personally experienced the kind and respectful attitude of peoples of various nationalities toward the Armenian people. It is not good for us to put our labor comrades in a spot. The events at the 'Zvartnots' Airport evoke pain and resentment. The actions of the young people who tried to paralyze the work of the airport clearly run counter to common sense. Who provoked them to this, what irresponsible forces? I am sure that the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh can only be resolved fairly in a calm atmosphere. At the same time I cannot help blaming the local authorities for the prevailing situation. I don't believe that use was made of all opportunities for preventing clashes in order to resolve the conflict at the airport."

Armenian Patriarch Speaks

LD0807182288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1728 GMT 8 Jul 88

["Address to the People by Vazgen I."—TASS headline]

[Text] Yerevan, 8 Jul (TASS)—Armenian television today again showed a recording of the address to the people delivered by Vazgen I, the supreme patriarch and catholicos of all Armenians, on Thursday evening.

He expressed sorrow and condolences to all citizens in connection with the events that occurred near Zvartnots International Airport on 5 July, as a result of which dozens of people were injured.

Assessing the events of the recent period, he stressed that "I was proud of the patriotic, disciplined conduct and the demonstrations by the people in Theater Square, which lifted the moral prestige of Armenians throughout the world. However, through violent actions we have lost much of that.

"It is necessary to restore the peaceful coexistence of the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples, both in Armenia and in Azerbaijan, at any price and by any means," Vazgen I stressed. "May it not fall to us to live again through those black years at the beginning of the century, when bloody clashes occurred between Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Transcaucasus."

"Not valuing our revived native country and its guaranteed existence in the multinational Soviet family, not respecting our native state and its legitimate leadership, and not supporting order and the peaceful flow of our life, would mean not respecting the memory of our wretched ancestors and not respecting the memory of the 2 million victims in 1915, who closed their eyes forever in the deserts of Deir ez-Zor in the hope of the revival of the Armenian homeland. It would mean gladdening the enemies of our nation."

In his address, the catholicos asked people "not to resort to reckless actions, to remain peaceful and calm and to go about your everyday labor in a disciplined conscientious manner."

Church Leaders on Unrest

LD0907011288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1920 GMT 8 Jul 88

[From the "View" program]

[Text] [Presenter] We took a long time to decide whether or not to show the item you are about to see. But considering the recent events in both Armenia and Azerbaijan we decided that this feature should be shown. Watch these speeches to the View program by the leaders, the religious leaders, of Armenia and Azerbaijan:

[Begin recording] [Vazgen I, supreme patriarch and catholicos of all Armenians, identified from screen caption, speaking in Armenian with superimposed Russian translation] I believe that the spirit of internationalism is mutual respect and understanding between peoples, respect for the culture of another people, respect for the originality of another people, the striving to get to know each other. There should be friendship in terms of both the church and religion. For example, Christians and Muslims should be brothers, because this is one of the commandments of our religion. In a word I think that the internationalist spirit in Soviet and Leninist interpretation is a beneficial spirit, particularly for us, since we are a country made up of many nationalities. [video shows Vazgen seated at desk with two unidentified correspondents]

[Unidentified correspondent] For you, personally, what do such words, which are on everyone's lips today, as glasnost, restructuring, and democracy, mean to you? Do you feel this yourself?

[Vazgen] I am very inspired by these processes and I think that the time has now come for these processes to move in a genuinely active manner. As a clergyman I believe in socialism and I even find that there is a lot in common in the ideals of socialism and Christianity. Among all ideologies socialism, it seems to me, is closest of all to the behests of Christ, the Gospels, its basic principles. I welcome restructuring because I see that many of the present leaders, led by Mikhail Gorbachev, are endeavoring to give socialism its true, just, humane, and human face. May God grant that restructuring, and the process of democratization, proceed along a successful path. If this succeeds in our life this will be of importance for the whole world.

[Same correspondent] It is believed that about 150 million people will be watching this program over the course of today. What would you like to say, and what wishes would you like to address to them?

[Vazgen] Soviet people?

[Same correspondent] Soviet people and people watching from abroad as well.

[Vazgen] I would be happy to pass on to all those listening to me now, all people, my very best wishes, happiness in their family and personal lives, in a social sense. I want to wish that they should, through their peaceful work, working in the name of peace on earth, reach the 21st century as a peaceful harbor without wars, without atomic bombs, and without hostility between nationalities. [video shows shots of exterior of mosque cutting to Shaykoleslam Allashukur Pashezade, chairman of Muslim Board for Trancausasus, identified by screen caption]

[Pashezade, speaking in Azeri with superimposed Russian translation] The decades that have passed since the October Revolution have not been cloudless in the relations between church and state. Because of inadequate understanding believers came up against complications in practicing their religions, and other difficulties. Restructuring has also touched the attitude toward believers. This is displayed in many things and of course finds a response in our hearts. Seeing that a lot is being done in the country for the good of the people, we approve of and support these noble efforts. It is fair to say that believers are an inalienable part of the Soviet people. They can be seen working on ships at sea, in cotton fields, in works, and factories. As citizens enjoying full rights they live with the concerns of their entire native land.

Life convinces us that attempts to sow disagreement between peoples of the nation is not in accordance with the aspirations of people and cannot find support in Soviet society. We are not going the same way as all those despicable people who are making such attempts. The lofty predestination of religion lies in the assertion of the sacred ideals of love of fellow men, fraternity, and cooperation.

We recall with gratitude Lenin's wise decree on separating church and state. In truth, if religion interferred in politics it would be separated from its true predestination. Today the believers in our country have broad opportunites for satisfying their religious needs. At the same time they possess the very same rights as other citizens. All this has been granted to us by Soviet power, the Soviet state.

The peaceful steps of our country are well known. We welcomed with great joy the signing of the Geneva treaty and the report on the phased withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, an event of huge importance. I have visited this country frequently and was able to satisfy myself with my own eyes that its people are thirsting for peace and calm on their soil. Believers, like all people, dream of living in peace, and ridding themselves of the threat of nuclear wr.

[Unidentified man] Shaykholeslam, what for you does the phrase "living in peace and friendship between peoples" mean?

[Shaykholeslam] For me it is the point of life, for my life is connected with Islam, and the first words that I recognized in this world were (sale maleyku), peace to you. This traditional greeting in itself contains a call for peace. This idea has become a leitmotif throughout my life. I am proud to be a member of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Committee for the Defense of Peace. This puts a lot of responsibility on me. We are rendering both moral and material assistance to the peace movement, backing up our words with practical deeds.

I would particularly like to talk about the friendship between the peoples of the Transcaucasus. From time immemorial these peoples have been living side by side. The Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples are neighbors and they cannot cease to be neighbors. According to Islamic law, the responsibility placed on you as a neighbor is sacred and this responsibility has to be borne with dignity. I think that the Armenians and Azerbaijanis are masters of a single home. We are living on soil that belongs to the whole of our fraternal union. As shaykholeslam I call on all peoples for peace. As for we Muslims, we will continue to put in all our efforts in the name of achieving this vital aspiration of the whole of mankind. [end recording]

IZVESTIYA on 8 Jul Situation

PM0807154788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent S. Bablumyan dispatch: "Yerevan, 8 July"]

[Text] Yerevan—Buses, streetcars, and trolleybuses started appearing in Yerevan today at about 0800.

The "Lenin Square" metro station: The notices that the metro was operating free, which were posted yesterday by the turnstiles, have been taken down—the subway is back to normal operation. Operations at Zvartnots Airport are also back to normal.

As before, many industrial enterprises are either not working or are working only partially. The Armenian SSR State Committee for Statistics has announced that on 7 July, the republic as whole underdelivered output worth approximately R7.5 million.

I telephoned Idzhevanskiy Rayon. D. Ananyan, first secretary of the party raykom, answered. She confirmed: Yes, the "Bentonit" Combine is idle.

The republic television devoted almost its entire evening program to events in Yerevan. People who are respected in Armenia spoke: a scientist, a lecturer from one of Yerevan's schools, leaders of ministries and departments; and workers and employees answered questions from television reporters. Unfortunately, the interlocutors' conversation was at times interrupted in midstream. If I were to attempt to sum up what was broadcast, its essence boiled down to this: Unraveling such a complex knot is possible only in an atmosphere of tranquillity and good sense. All the rest does nothing but obstruct the cause.

It is on rare occasions that one hears on television a speech by the Catholicos of all Armenians addressed to the people. The exceptional circumstances forced Catholicos Vazgen I yesterday to appeal to people for tranquillity and good sense, asking them to remember everyone's responsibility to the future and to keep the memory of the past in high esteem.

The catholicos spoke of the need to further strengthen at all costs the friendship among peoples in our multinational country and to respect state order and legality, and warned against rash actions which could discredit the good name of Armenians and Armenia. In his speech Vazgen I made an appeal to display an awareness of supreme responsibility toward creative labor for the sake of the motherland's progress and prosperity, in the name of the materialization of all aspirations of the Armenian people. The catholicos conveyed condolences to the relatives and friends of the victims of the incident that occurred at Zvartnots Airport.

8 Jul Theater Square Rally

PM0907140788 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 88 p 4

[Correspondent A. Sarkisyan report: "Yerevan, 8 July"]

[Text] This morning, when it appeared that Yerevan had returned to its normal labor rhythm, another Theater Square rally was announced for 1100 hours. Several tens of thousands of people assembled.... What did the speakers say?

They do not approve of the march on Zvartnots Airport. They warn that thoughtless actions could lead to chaos. And...they call for the continuation of the strike. Why?

Their explanation is as follows. We have repeatedly sent requests, petitions, and letters to both local and central organs requesting an answer to the questions concerning us. But all that comes back to us is meager information, sometimes in the form of rumors, moreover. We consider that in such conditions only striking can have results....

The arguments they hear in response are brushed aside. It has to be admitted that the influence of Theater Square on the general mood is still very great. Many of the city's enterprises are only partly operating or are idle. The damage caused grows with every passing hour. Contractual deliveries are not being met. People who disagree with the idea of striking are getting increasingly discontented. Some activists on the so-called "strike committee" are even indulging in direct compulsion and demanding that people do not go to work.

Television time is being given to representatives of various strata of the population who consider that any questions must be put by legal methods, in an atmosphere of calm and labor rhythm.

In the evening of 7 July Vazgen I, catholicos of all the Armenians and head of the Armenian church, appealed to the people. Normally a restrained and calm person, on this occasion he made no secret of his feelings. Only irresponsible people can exploit freedom to cause disorder, he noted. The actions of a certain section of young people which led to the Zvartnots airport drama are

harmful to the people's cause and place obstacles in the way of examination of the Nagorno-Karabakh question. Remain peaceful and calm, the catholicos advised, and return to your daily work.

PRAVDA on 8 Jul Situation

PM1107102388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

[A. Sarkisyan dispatch under "Stop Press" rubric: "Yerevan, 8 July"]

[Text] As of this morning life in Yerevan has outwardly resumed its normal tempo. Public transport has begun to operate, and shops, consumer service enterprises, and markets have opened. And that's all. As yet there are no comforting reports from industrial enterprises. At many of them the number of people coming on shift has increased; however, it is proving practically impossible to begin work.

I drove out to Razdanskiy Rayon—one of the republic's largest industrial zones. Together with G. Kotandzhyan, first secretary of the party raykom, we looked at reports on how things are at industrial enterprises. One graph showed the number of people not turning up for work: 4 July—17.8 percent; 5 July—28.5 percent; 6 July—39.5 percent; 7 July—32.1 percent. I inquired as to what the rayon party aktiv was doing at this time.

"We have tried to convince people and we are relying on the people," Gayk Sarkisovich said. "Debates are under way in collectives, in lines, in backyards, and in people's homes.... I cannot say that everyone agrees with us. The problem of Nagorno-Karabakh affects many people acutely."

[Sarkisyan] "Nonetheless, how will it be possible to convince people to return to work?"

[Kotandzhyan] "There are many factors. For instance, a 5,000-strong rally took place yesterday in Charentsavan. We remarked there that a solution based on simplistic conceptions can lead to error. Only a democratic means of resolving the problem can be chosen in a democratic society."

[Sarkisyan] "Let's get back to urgent matters. What damage has the strike caused so far?"

[Kotandzhyan] "Approximately R2 million. It is a sad state of affairs when our production partners suffer because of us. Admittedly, people are promising to make up for this."

I returned to Yerevan in the afternoon. Transport is continuing to operate. The number of trucks has increased.

People on the streets are vigorously discussing yesterday's speech on local television by Catholicos Vazgen I. The heartfelt, sensible words from the head of the Armenian Church touched many people very deeply. He expressed grief apropos of the drama that took place at Zvartnots Airport, condemned the irresponsibility of the organizers of the disorders, and called upon people to return to work and to observe discipline and order.

Transportation Strike Ends

LD0807232488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; special correspondent B. Baryshnikov report from Yerevan—recorded]

[Text] [Baryshnikov] Yerevan, the Armenian capital, is always beautiful, whatever the time of year or season. Yet in these hot July days the city shows uneasiness, even anxiety—there is a strike. Esteemed comrade viewers, we will now give you the opportunity of seeing scenes filmed yesterday and today. Here is a piece of film we shot yesterday, 7 July. There is something missing in the streets, something very familiar and ordinary: there's no public transport. [video shows street almost empty except for a few private vehicles] and here are some pictures we filmed today, 8 July. [video shows busy street: buses, minibuses, and trams on the move] The strike at many of Yerevan's public transportation enterprises ended today. As for the subway, it continued to operate during the strike, moreover we must note that the passengers traveled free. When the people of Yerevan saw that public transportation was back in operation this morning, many of them sighed with relief.

[Video shows Baryshnikov interviewing a man in a bus terminal] Vegen Stepanovich, could you tell us how the public transport enterprises were operating, or rather not operating, during the strike in Yerevan?

[V.S. Saakyan, chief engineer of Yerevan passenger transport directorate, identified by screen caption] During the strike in Yerevan—that is, yesterday and the day before yesterday—it is true that some of our vehicles, yesterday in particular, went out, but they worked until about 1000 in the morning and after that the city's public transport was virtually idle. The day before yesterday the city was almost completely paralyzed. But today, of course, there have been changes for the better—almost all the drivers came to work today, almost all. I say almost, since we were not able to fulfill today's target for putting buses on the road, because—I have the figures here—against the target of 489 buses only 397 had gone out at 0800 this morning, so in fact we were 92 buses short.

[Baryshnikov] You mean the drivers did not show up?

[Saakyan] The drivers did not show up, and at the moment we are trying to establish why they did not show up today.

[Baryshnikov] It would seem as if the strike is already over.

[Saakyan] Yes. Yesterday there was a television address by Comrade Sarkisyan, the chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers. Some ministers also spoke, including Comrade Drampyan, the Armenian minister of motor transport, and there was a speech by Vazgen I, the catholicos of all Armenians. I think all that was very important and has had an effect on work today. It is not just the transport workers, but I think most of the vast majority of enterprises are back at work today. I think there was no need for the strike. That's not the way to solve these issues; they have to be thought about and considered. One must not give in to emotions and feelings. It seems to me—and this is my personal view, of course—but I think that this is not the way to solve such issues.

[Baryshnikov] You have spoken about the last few days and about today. What are your thoughts about the future?

[Saakyan] I think that the situation in the city has normalized; and in my view, the more so the better.

'Hooliganism' Closes Square

PM0907172788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent S. Bablumyan report: "Yerevan, Saturday"]

[Text] To begin with, a few words about yesterday, Friday. Many more people turned up for work in Yerevan than in the entire preceding 5-day period. I do not dare to describe this fact as a decisive breakthrough, but some movement toward the establishment of a labor rhythm does seem to be perceptible. Toward the end of the day I contacted the Armenian SSR State Committee for Statistics, where I was told that the losses incurred by industry Friday were slightly more than R2 million less than on 7 July.

On Saturday public transport was operating normally from the morning. All food stores and public catering enterprises opened, and cooperative workers are actively assisting in meeting the demand for various services. The markets are bustling.

Local and central newspapers are selling out "like hot cakes," as they say. Today there are considerably fewer complaints against the mass media, but this still does not mean that there are no complaints at all. The main demand made of the press and television remains: to write and show only the truth, not toning things down but not embroidering reality, either. As if following this injunction, the republic newspaper SOVETAKAN AYASTAN has instituted a "Reaction Hot Line" rubric and is daily publishing readers' views on the events taking place in the republic. The views are different, sometimes diametrically opposed, but precisely this lack of conformity in people's assessments of what is happening is increasing confidence in the press.

Some 212 participants in a general meeting at the "Stone and Silicates" Science-and-Production Association put their view to the Yerevan intelligentsia. Their appeal ends with the words: "Dear friends! The Yerevan intelligentsia cannot allow the nationwide movement to be manipulated by essentially irresponsible elements! It is your place and ours today to be together with the people. We must explain to people the essence and thrust of what is happening. We must direct the people's movement into the channel of lawful constitutional action."

From the morning of 9 July Theater Square in Yerevan was again cordoned off by subunits of the forces for the protection of public order. What prompted this? I asked Armenian SSR Minister of Internal Affairs U. Arutyunyan to answer the question.

[Arutyunyan] In the past few days the atmosphere in which rallies have been held has been heated beyond all measure. There have been instances of serious violations of public order and even hooliganism. A huge concentration of vehicles in the center of the city severly impedes the normal work of transport and creates a dangerous situation. A decison was therefore made to allocate a square adjacent to the Razdan central stadium for rallies.

Media Not Forbidding Strikes

PM0907175788 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 10 Jul 88 p 3

[Report by special correspondents Yu. Belanov and N. Ordinyan: "Yerevan, 9 July"]

[Text] When we went out onto the streets of Yerevan in the morning the situation in the city seemed all right: stores, cafeterias, cafes, and public transport were operating. According to figures from the Yerevan Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration, the practical situation [operativnaya obstanovka] in the city has also stabilized. Volunteer militia squads, which have primarily taken over the control of transport operations, have come to help the militia. And although 200 fewer transport vehicles than envisaged by the Saturday timetable were ready for service in the morning, within 2 hours they had been joined by a further hundred streetcars, trolleybuses, and buses.

But it is unfortunately premature to take comfort from this. Only the food industry, continuous-production enterprises, and a number of factories and associations are operating at full capacity.

We called major enterprises in machine building and other leading sectors. In reply we were told: "Today's Saturday—a nonworking day." But when, then, is the backlog going to be made up, when are the arrears in contractual deliveries to hundreds of plants in the country going to be carried out?

The situation is approximately the same in other industrial centers in the republic—Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Abovyan. During these days they have failed to provide the country with millions of rubles' worth of machine tools, equipment, and consumer goods.

But unfortunately the sad consequences of the strikes in the republic are not being made public. You would think that first and foremost the local mass media should be telling the whole truth about the situation. But the newspapers publish only occasional calls to resume work. They are not carrying in-depth analysis of the present stuation, and they are not conducting a frank dialogue with the people about the impermissibility of seeking to solve problems of national relations by the method of strikes and noisy rallies.

Situation Returning to Normal

LD0907133988 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Yerevan, 9 July (TASS)—Calm is being observed today in the Armenian capital and in other cities of this Soviet Transcaucasus republic. Public transport is working. Townsfolk are doing their usual Saturday shopping and using consumer services.

As the TASS correspondent was told at the Yerevan Gorkom, all enterprises operating round-the-clock are working normally. They have been joined by working collectives engaged in light industry and some of the chemical and petrochemical enterprises.

At a crowded meeting held late yesterday evening the participants condemned the actions of irresponsible persons resulting in disorders at the airport and in the streets of the city. Outrage at this has been expressed in the republican newspapers by workers, and scientific and cultural figures, who demanded a resolute halt to any antisocial phenomena.

Zvartnots airport is working normally today. The airport was closed for nearly 48 hours; 18,500 passengers were unable to fly out on air routes linking the Armenian capital with 31 of the country's towns. The damage, taking into account the transport stoppage and idling of aviation equipment, amounted to some R1.7 million.

Additional flights have been urgently organized. Armenian air crews have been given much help by their colleagues from Moscow and Leningrad. Today flights for the preceding 24 hours have been made. On 10 July planes are expected to be flying on schedule.

Yerevan 'Quiet' 9 Jul

LD1007121188 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Our correspondent in Yerevan reports that residents of the capital of Soviet Armenia have had a quiet Saturday. There were no violations of public order, and public transport, including railways [as heard] functioned normally. Work went on at more than 60 plants. According to the local aviation department spokesman, Yerevan airport's air traffic schedule is to be fully restored by the end of today. [passage omitted]

Citizens Discuss Events

LD0907190088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Correspondent Karen Khumoryan report from Yerevan]

[Text] Today in the city was, to outward appearances, an ordinary Saturday in midsummer. Children splashed around in the city's fountains, and public transportation, stores, cafes, and municipal services operated normally. It is only the cordons around Theater Square, the armored personnel carriers and fire engines by the steps—which have served already for more than 4 months as an improvised rostrum for almost incessant meetings—and the reinforced posts of the road traffic police and order-enforcement forces at the entrances to the city and the airport building, where dramatic events occurred on 5 July, which remind one that the situation in Yerevan still remains tense.

There are lots of people on the ring road that circles the city center, and an animated exchange of views is in progress. The attention of the Yerevan people is focused on the recent address on Armenian television by Vazgen I, the catholicos of all Armenians, who expressed condolences to the families who suffered in the 5 July events, sharply condemned their organizers, and called on the people to be orderly and prudent.

A great impression has also been made on the Yerevan people by the statement on Central Television on the possibility of transferring some of the cases of those guilty [as heard] of the events in Sumgait for examination by oblast courts of the Russian Federation, and also by a statement from a commission of the republic's Ministry of Health to the effect that the mass poisoning of female workers at the Masis branch of the Garun sewing production association was indeed caused by a poisonous chemical preparation, and that all the commission's material on this matter has been transferred to the prosecutor's office of the Armenian SSR, which will inform the population at intervals of the progress of the investigation. As is known, it was this very event which prompted the new upsurge of demonstrations in Yerevan, which led to the strike.

There is also lively discussion of the address with appeals to end the strike from the most respected figures of science and culture in the republic to the working people of the republic, which was published in the press.

It looks as though it is, indeed, appeals for common sense and not the demands of the so-called strike committee to continue the strike made at a meeting yesterday evening, which are meeting with great understanding among most of the city's working people. The majority of the population of Yerevan believe that a calm, business-like atmosphere is necessary for a just solution to the Karabakh question.

3-Day Mourning Observed

LD1007144988 Hamburg DPA in German 1327 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—The Soviet authorities this weekend were making efforts to normalize the situation in the Armenian capital. [passage omitted] According to reports from human rights circles, citizens are observing 3 days of mourning, and the Karabakh Committee has called at a mass rally for mourning on Friday evening.

Sergey Grigoryants, the human rights activist and editor of the periodical "GLASNOST", told DPA that Soviet troops yesterday blocked off the Theater Square in order to prevent further rallies. Nonetheless, a meeting at another location in the city has been announced for this evening. The strikes are continuing.

Grigoryants went on to report that members of the Karabakh Committee were arrested yesterday. Apart from this, some parents have reported their children missing. He added that the party leader in Armenia, Suren Arutyunyan, has threatened the members of the "Karabakh Committee" on radio and television. Apart from this, the party leader has said that the solution of the Karabakh issue will require much time. [passage omitted]

Today, several hundred Armenians demonstrated at the Armenian Cemetery against the action of Soviet troops on Tuesday, when one student was killed and numerous demonstrators and militia were injured in the storming of Yerevan airport. According to rumors, more of the injured have died in the meantime. Some policemen are also said to have died. A priest of the Armenian community, Tiran Gureghian, criticized mainly the Soviet press, which has reported continuously, but insufficiently and not objectively, on events in Yerevan.

According to Grigoryants, Yerevan has been in mourning since yesterday. There are black flags everywhere in the city, and people are wearing black ribbons. [passage omitted]

10 Jul Rally Urges Strike

PM1107143388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Special correspondents S. Bablumyan and P. Gutiontov dispatch: "Yerevan, 11 July"]

[Text] The situation in the city remains tense. A rally attended by hundreds of thousands of Yerevan's citizens was held around Matenadaran Sunday evening. The basic thrust of the speeches was: Do not go to work, at least not before 18 July. It must be said that the orators employed extremely tough wording. For example, there was sharp criticism of the republic's delegation to the 19th party conference for its supposedly inadequate determination "in upholding national interests." The participants in the rally adopted a letter to Catholicos Vazgen I who, as IZVESTIYA has already reported, spoke on the republic's television and appealed to the Armenian people's wisdom, calmness, and sense of responsibility, and for an end to the strike which, in the present circumstances, is fraught with unpredictable consequences. Unfortunately, this appeal has not yet been heeded.

Let us repeat: Today there is more need than ever for common sense, thorough checking of every step, and awareness of the possible consequences of each step. Thus, the continuation of the strike jeopardizes the fulfillment of contract commitments and results in disruptions in the most diverse corners in the country. In this way, even purely economic problems have repercussions far beyond the republic's borders. And today nobody can rule out the possibility of contract reviews and reallocation of orders to enterprises in other regions with all the ensuing long-term consequences for the republic's economy: Partners are entitled to do even this to protect their economic interests.

All demands at the rally that we mentioned were presented in the form of an ultimatum. But is it impossible to seek ways to at least slightly ease the tense atmosphere, to offer an opportunity to discuss and solve in a calm atmosphere the complex problems that have arisen?

We traveled through the city on Monday, at about 1000 local time. Public transport was operating without disruption, but by no means everyone was in a hurry to report for work when getting off by the gates of their enterprises.

Some Participants in Sumgait 'Events' Sentenced

LD0807181388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The courts have examined a number of criminal cases concerning the events of Sumgait. The criminal have been sentenced to the punishments they deserve.

The investigation into cases of premeditated murders, robberies, and mass disturbances is now coming to an end. It has been decided to refer the inquiries of these cases to several Russian Federation oblast courts. The inquest into other crimes committed is continuing.

Armenians Stage Moscow Sit-In

AU1007173988 Paris AFP in English 1719 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Moscow, July 10 (AFP)—150 Armenians held a sit-in protest in central Moscow on Sunday after police refused them access to the Soviet Supreme Court building.

The Armenians had wanted to deliver a request that legal proceedings in the Azerbaijan Republic, following the deaths of 32 people in an anti-Armenian pogrom in the Caspian Sea port of Sumgait in February, be transferred to the Supreme Court.

The crowd dispersed without incident two hours later after an official warned protesters that their demonstration was illegal and that they faced court action, as the municipal authorities had had no advance warning of the gathering. [passage omitted]

The march on the Supreme court followed an earlier gathering by hundreds of Armenians in Moscow's Armenian Cemetery.

The growd had gathered to discuss last week's violent incidents in Yerevan, capital of the Armenian republic. [passage omitted]

The Moscow protesters showed photographs of Armenian victims of the inter-communal violence at Sumgait.

Meanwhile, 200 people gathered Sunday outside Paris' Pere Lachaise Cemetery, to protest at the violence in Yerevan. General Antranik, an Armenian leader who died in exile, is buried at the Paris cemetery. The crowd later dispersed without incident.

Strike in Nagorno-Karabakh Capital Continues

LD0807153488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1503 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Stepanakert, (Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast), 8 Jul (TASS)—The strike continues in the town. Enterprises are at a standstill; public transport is not operating. In the situation which has arisen, two student building units that have come here from Armenia have ceased work; these are a team from the republican Komsomol Central Committe and one from the Yerevan Polytechnical Institute. The population is engaged in a broad discussion of the 7 July appearance on Yerevan Television by poetess Silva Kaputikyan and Vazgen I, catholicos of all the Armenians, who called for an end to the strike and condemned the incident at Zvartnots Airport. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 8 July, in a similar report on the situation in Stepanakert, adds the following: "Azerbaijanis who had come from Armenia are gradually leaving the rayons neighboring Stepanakert. The refugees are disappointed since their hopes of gaining housing allegedly abandoned by Armenians have not been justified."]

Official Refutes Strike Report

LD0907083188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] [Announcer] Literally a few minutes before this morning's "Panorama" program began we received a telephone call at the studio. Here is a full recording of that telephone conversation. Switch on the tape, please.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified voice] Hello! Is that "Panorama"?

[Announcer] Yes. Good morning.

[Voice] This is Komsomol duty officer Aleksandr Lavadskiy speaking. I'd like to correct an annoying mistake that occurred in a TASS report on the situation in Stepanakert. It was published in today's papers, and broadcast on the "Vremya" program last night. It said that two student construction detachments that arrived in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in Azerbaijan SSR stopped work as a sign of solidarity with the strikers. We got Stepanakert on the telephone, and were told by Marat Musavilyan, Komsomol first secretary in Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom, that there is only one student construction team from Armenia at present working in the autonomous oblast. The boys and girls arrived in the oblast on 2 July, and by Monday they'd already set to work on "Twice Hero of the Soviet Union Nelson Stepanyan" Kolkhoz. They are working in the vineyard with the collective farmers. In their free time they have been preparing a cultural program for the rural toilers. They have no particular problems, apart from annoyance at the incorrect TASS report.

We also managed to speak with Sergey Nikolayevich Sakhno, the TASS correspondent in Stepanakert. He offers a public apology to the members of the (Arsakh-88) detachment, and [words indistinct] regrets that information from unchecked sources was used. [end recording]

Radio Corrects Report

LD0907141988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Excerpt] As has already been reported, student detachments from Armenia—from the Komsomol Central Committee of the republic and from the Yerevan Polytechnical Institute, have arrived in Stepanakert in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. A TASS correspondent in Stepanakert, who apologizes for the annoying error in yesterday's report, says that on 8 July, despite heavy rain, the students from the detachment

continued to carry out agricultural work in the Askaryan Rayon. The weather has not improved, but the young people are also working today. [passage omitted]

Student Workers Interviewed

LD0907192088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 9 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; "special correspondents'" report from Stepanakert]

[Text] [Correspondent] No visible changes have occurred in the town today. The strike is continuing, and only a few enterprises of the food industry and food stores are working. Public transport is still paralyzed. But people even seem to have become used to this. There are a lot of private cars on the streets. Construction teams and Komsomol students detachments are working in the town. With their arrival the gates of the striking repair and construction administration opened, and some of the local workers joined in. By the way, the guys are being driven in this Kamaz truck by an Azerbaijani driver. Sixty students of the Yerevan Polytechnical Institute—that's who we're looking at right now—are working on the unloading of construction materials, and at the town's railroad station. For the moment they are only preparing for construction work, but they work in different weather without even counting the hours. [video shows people and cars in the streets, the students unloading timber, the driver mentioned; video then moves on to interviews with the students] You have come to work, but you have come to Nagorono-Karabakh, to Stepanakert, where, as you know, a strike has been under way for 1.5 months now. Tell me, please, how does your work combine, your work with...

[Student, interrupting] How do they regard us, is that what you mean?

[Correspondent] Yes, how are you regarded?

[Student] The strike makes no difference to us. We are working, [words indistinct]. It makes no difference to us. And they regard us, well how? That we are building houses.

[Second student] We're working for the refugees from Sumgait, and they understand that very well, they all understand that.

[Third student] We haven't even had a chance to have a proper rest since yesterday. We've been working the whole time, and today, as you can see, we have a half hour to sit and wait. But yesterday there was nothing like that—we just had five minutes for a smoke, and then back to work!

[Correspondent] The strike in Stepanakert and the oblast is continuing. Only one rayon, Shushinskiy, is working, that's today's news.

20,000 Azerbaijanis Flee Armenia as Refugees

LD1007032488 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0108 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Text] On 9 July, the situation in Stepanakert was tense. Despite measures taken, the strike was generally in effect. Unlike the city, in the rural rayons of the oblast agricultural work went ahead. Due to the complex and tense situation in Armenia, Azerbaijanis are coming into Azerbaijan as refugees from Armenia. According to a special commission set up attached to the Azerbaijani Council of Ministers, the Azerbaijanis who have come from Armenia are being temporarily settled in the republic's (?kolkhoz rayons). The number of such Azerbaijani citizens is particularly great in the Nakhichevan ASSR and in Shamkhor, Kuba, Kazakh, and Zhdanov Rayons.

Offices have been set up in the rayons to provide information, and these offices are operating under the leadership of local party organizations. To date, nearly 20,000 persons or over 5,000 families have arrived in Azerbaijan from Armenia.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee is making efforts to bring the situation back to normal in places in the Armenian SSR where there are concentrations of Azerbaijani people.

A (?working) group of responsible party and soviet workers was recently created, with the participation of [words indistinct] of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, Musa Mamedov, first deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers and chairman of the Azerbaijan State Agro-Industrial Committee; and Naim Fataliyev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet Presidium.

At the request of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, responsible workers of the CPSU Central Committee are at present at the rayon in question. (?Thanks to their efforts), 1,000 Azerbaijanis have returned to Armenia.

It is reported that over 4,000 Armenians have emigrated to Armenia from Azerbaijan this year. But, despite rumors, there are no cases in the republic of Azerbaijanis who have come from Armenia being settled in the homes and [word indistinct] of Armenians who have emigrated to Armenia. No cases have been registered in the past 2 months of any instances of citizens of Armenian nationality being forced to leave Azerbaijan. Bishop Ananya Arabajian, head of the Armenian parish in Azerbaijan, has said in a statement on local television that the measures taken by the republic's leadership have created the belief that the mutual relations between the two peoples will be normalized.

'Vremya' Reports on 'Poisoning' at Masis Plant

LD0907224388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 9 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; special correspondents B. Baryshnikova and D. Britikova video report from Armenia]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Tens and hundreds of millions of rubles have been lost as a result of the strike that has been shaking Soviet Armenia for several days now. [video shows cars and a van in the streets of a city; three soldiers standing by the side of a road]

I will remind you and reveal the truth to many—as it seems to me—by naming the demands made by those taking part in the new wave of the strike. [video shows a crowd of men in a park] The first is that Nagorno-Karabakh should be incorporated in to the Armenian SSR. The second is that an investigation of the Sumgait events should be carried out and transferred to the authority of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Third, they demand that the circumstances of the mass poisoning of female workers in one of the branches in the Garun textile production association in Masis should be fully investigated. Fourth, they demand that the mass media should objectively assess the events surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh and its (?enterprises).

As for the fourth point, even the fact that our program is being broadcast shows that glasnost is not a device but a principle in our relations. As for the second, the Sumgait events, at least many of them, have already been transferred to the courts of individual regions of the Russian Federation to be considered. On the third point, and maybe the main thing, this report today is to do with Masis. [video shows a wide country road with a blue sign reading "Masis" in Armenian and Russian]

What has happened there after all? [video shows a sign on a building, "Masis branch of Garun enterprise"] It is not only Armenia that has been spellbound by rumors containing various interpretations. [video shows O.Ya. Akochan, (?assistant) director-general of the Garun association in a room with sewing machines; identified by screen caption]

[Akochan] The absence of noise here today has, of course, its own reasons. The staff of our Masis branch is working on agricultural land today, because they need to help each other in harvesting their own crops and the crop of the collective.

[Correspondent] They would be working here otherwise, wouldn't they?

[Akochan] They have always been working these days.

[Correspondent] What about the head branch?

[Akochan] Work has now been paralyzed a little at the head branch. The strike is continuing there because they have made demands and are now waiting for them to be fulfilled. We now work on the basis of contracts under the conditions of self-financing and financial autonomy. We were carrying out deliveries 100 percent (?before the strike). There will probably be losses because of these days.

[Correspondent] It is not fortuitous, of course, that we are broadcasting our conversation from here, a workshop of the Masis branch of your association. There is another rather unpleasant reason for this. I would like to ask you, (Orama Yakovna), to tell us what happened here some time ago. [video shows a woman, sitting next to Akochan]

Yes, this happened on 23 June some time around 1330. A woman came up to me from the fourth of fifth unit and said to me: Comrade Agasyan, the overalls have been delivered and they smell of some vinegarish substance. Some 15-20 minutes later people began to feel unwell. They were dizzy and nauseous. Some began to feel weak. [word indistinct] I called an ambulance which immediately took 47 people to the hospital. [video shows hospital room, correspondent speaking to a woman in bed]

[Correspondent] Lena, how are you feeling?

[Lena] at this moment, of course, I feel better than I felt before. But I feel weak and I have a headache and feel very sleepy. I constantly want to sleep. My appetite has improved a little. We have been given all the help we needed. Therefore we feel well now. [passage omitted] Residents of Yerevan have visited us and brought flowers. They learned our names. The lists of all the women were put up in large letters by the Bolshoy theater, saying that they were victims of such and such an action, you see.

[Correspondent] The list of casualties?

[Lena] Of course, casualties of an intentional action. They did all this intentionally. [video shows hospital corridors]

[Correspondent] Intentionally. The sharpness of perception and emotions does sometimes overshadow the truth. The truth is becoming clear. Yet by far not everything has been sufficiently verified. At present criminal charges have been instituted by the bodies of law and order on the matter. An inquiry is being carried out. But what are the doctors going to say?

[M.N. Nasebyan, chief doctor of a regional hospital, identified by screen caption] [passage omitted] Five patients have been transferred to the republican clinical hospital in the city of Yerevan. Three were pregnant. [passage omitted] Based on consultation, they were diagnosed to have suffered acute intoxication, poisoning

caused by a toxic, chemical substance. At present the patients' state of health is satisfactory. Just 18 patients are now still in the hospital.

[Correspondent] The rest have been allowed out, haven't they?

[Nasebyan] Yes, the rest have been allowed out.

[Correspondent] Radio and television of Armenia have reported this. We have heard this. But, Vladimir Nikolayevich, what is this substance after all? Have you identified it?

[Nasebyan] This substance has not yet been identified. It is not yet clear what it is. Specialists in this field are continuing their investigation. When the composition of this chemical substance becomes clear we will be able to tell you the final detail.

100,000 Lithuanians Meet Conference Delegates

LD0907201888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1927 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Vilnius, 9 Jul (TASS)—A hundred thousand inhabitants of the Lithuanian capital took part in a discussion meeting with delegates to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The meeting took place this evening and was organized by the informal association "The Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring."

The conference participants who spoke at the meeting noted that the Lithuanian inhabitants' proposals to the conference were reflected in one form or another in the resolutions adopted by it. These resolutions provide for developing the independence [samostoyatelnost] of the Soviet republics, extending their rights, more actively using national languages, and taking decisive measures for environmental protection.

Founders of "The Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring"—prominent writers, scholars, and cultural figures—stated in their speeches that they fully support the party's policy of restructuring, the development of glasnost, and democracy. The movement's aim is to contribute to implementing these decisions and to oppose the forces of stagnation and bureaucracy. It was also noted that the movement distances itself from nationalist and extremist elements.

Police Round up 'Radical' Reformists in Moscow

AU1007133488 Paris AFP in English 2349 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 10 (AFP)—Militants from a "People's Front for Perestroyka" were rounded up by police here Saturday for collecting signatures on behalf of sacked Moscow party chief Boris Yeltsin.

Eyewitnesses said police had difficulty getting through an angry crowd of hundreds in the city centre to reach the militants, who were calling for a "radical perestroyka" (economic restructuring) programme.

Mr Yeltsin, ousted last November after criticizing Politburo member Yegor Ligachev for slowing the pace of reform at a Central Committee meeting, vainly sought his own "political rehabilitation" at last week's Soviet Communist Party conference.

Saturday's police action came a day after a member of the front's executive committee was imprisoned for 10 days for having taken part in an unauthorized demonstration in June. The same member was seen on Soviet television in a debate on "socialist pluralism" Friday.

Mr Yeltsin's appeal, and a vigorous rebuttal by Mr Ligachev, the Kremlin number two, was shown live on television, along with a subsequent speech by Mr Gorbachev. Both officials dwelled on Mr Yeltsin's "mistakes."

Mr Yeltsin said that his only mistake had been in speaking too soon. He lost his seat as an alternate Politburo member in February.

Politburo Restores Bukharin's Party Membership

LD0907165888 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 9 Jul 88

["Urgent—Commission of Politburo of CPSU Central Committee"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow July 9 TASS—The commission of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee for the additional study of the materials connected with the reprisals in the thirties, forties and early fifties, discussed at its regular meeting the materials on the question of party membership of N.I. Bukharin, A.I. Rykov, A.P. Rozengolts, M.A. Chernov, P.P. Bulanov, V.A. Maksimov-Dikovskiy and Kh.G. Rakovskiy who, alongside other persons, were involved in the case on the so-called "anti-Soviet rightist-Trotskiyite bloc".

A report of the Party Control Committee at the CPSU Central Committee was heard on this matter. It was established that the plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) on March 3, 1937, basing itself on the materials of the investigation by the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs expelled N.I. Bukharin and A.I. Rykov from the composition of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) and stripped them of party membership on charges of the involvement in the Trotskiyite terroristic and espionage activity and acts of sabotage, of anti-party conduct, slander and attacks on the party, of the participation in the past in the struggle against the party and Lenin.

On the basis of the materials falsified during the investigation and hearing, the military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court sentenced on March 13, 1938 N.I. Bukharin, A.I. Rykov and most of other persons who stood trial on the case of the "rightist-Trotskiyite" bloc to execution by firing squad.

On February 4, 1988 the plenum of the Supreme Court of the USSR quashed the sentence passed on N.I. Bukharin, A.I. Rykov and others and dismissed the case for the absence of the fact of the crime.

N.I. Bukharin, party member since 1906, and A.I. Rykov, party member since 1898 were active participants in preparing and carrying out the October Revolution. After its triumph they occupied responsible posts in the party and state. They exerted great effort in the fight to build socialism.

N.I. Bukharin was member of the Central Committee of the party from 1917 to 1934, was alternate member of the Central Committee of the party from 1934 to 1937 and was member of the Politburo from 1919 to 1929. For a long time he was the editor of PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA. Documents of a number of congresses of the party, as well as the programme of the Comintern were drafted under his guidance. He took an active part in the work of the Comintern.

A.I. Rykov was deputy chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR and the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Russian Federation from 1921, and chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR and of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Russian Federation from 1924 to 1930. He was member of the Politburo from 1922 to 1930. In those years he was engaged in many-faceted work to conduct the party's home and foreign policy. A.I. Rykov made a great contribution to the practical implementation of Lenin's cooperative plan.

N.I. Bukharin and A.I. Rykov made separate errors in their political activity. In acute ideological struggle they assumed special stand in a number of cases in determining the ways and methods of socialist construction, but their errors and special stands were not of an anti-party nature. Until the February-March (1937) Plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) they were not reprimanded by the party.

The Party Control Committee discussed the question of party membership of N.I. Bukharin, A.I. Rykov and, in view of the groundlessness of political accusations they faced when they were expelled from the party, their full legal rehabilitation and also their services to the party and the Soviet state, restored N.I. Bukharin and A.I. Rykov to party membership on June 21, 1988 (posthumously).

A.P. Rozengolts, M.A. Chernov, P.P. Bulanov, V.A. Maksimov-Dikovskiy and Kh.G. Rakovskiy were also restored to party membership (posthumously).

I.A. Zelenskiy, V.I. Ivanov, P.T. Zubarev, G.F. Grinko, S.A. Bessonov, N.N. Krestinskiy, A. Ikramov, V.F. Sharangovich and F. Khodzhayev had earlier been restored to the ranks of the CPSU.

D.D. Pletnev, L.G. Levin, P.P. Krycuhkov and I.N. Kazakov who were also involved in the case on the so-called "anti-Soviet rightist-Trotskiyite bloc" were not party members.

The Party Control Committee at the CPSU Central Committee also discussed the question of party membership of M.P. Tomskiy. Groundless political accusations were made against him in the thirties, just as aginst Bukharin and Rykov. He committed suicide. In view of the groundlessness of the accusations faced by M.P. Tomskiy, the Party Control Committee at the CPSU Central Committee confirmed his membership in the party from 1904.

The report of the Party Control Committee at the CPSU Central Committee was taken into consideration.

The commission of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee continues its work.

Historian's Denial of Socialist Past Rejected

PM2906115388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jun 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Pobisk Kuznetsov: "Questions to a Historian: On Yu.N. Afanasyev's Article 'Restructuring and Historical Knowledge' (LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA 17 June 1988)"]

[Text] The above article, like the author's previous writings, will undoubtedly provoke the most diverse reactions among professional historians and of course the public at large. It is, as it were, a partial resume of the author's thoughts. At the same time he tries to look forward and speaks about the state of and prospects for historical science. To a certain extent it reflects not only a personal viewpoint but also the mood generated by a wave of heightened interest in history in recent years.

Let me say right away that there is quite a lot in the article that is correct and generally acknowledged, though it is sometimes presented as new and original. Furthermore, a number of its tenets are the result of collective research efforts which have already received the support of the majority of scholars. But it also contains assertions that give rise to puzzling questions, and these questions must be discussed by specialists and the broad public.

We read, for example: "Recently another method has appeared and is being tried out—an attempt to create in Soviet people's social consciousness a kind of hybrid image—a Shchedrin-like symbiosis consisting of two parts: 'On the one hand, on the other hand.' On the one

hand mass repressions and crimes, on the other hand daily happiness and the achievement of records. And let there be no sullying of our glorious past!"

The author himself considers, and rightly so, that we will not be able to move forward if we now pin all the responsibility for our misfortunes on Stalin alone... "Many would like to sacrifice Stalin so as to save Stalinism. But that would also mean missing the very nub of the problem, evading the question of how far Stalin was the creator and at the same time the product of a system which was consolidated during his period in power." Thus the question is asked but left unanswered. Meanwhile our literature already has quite thorough research that shows the way Stalinism and the personality cult arose, the role played by the character of Stalin, and the role played by objective circumstances.

In addition, it is a question of repressions and enthusiasm that is being discussed here. And this hybrid image, as the author calls it, this Shchedrin-like symbiosis remains unexplained and is presented by him as a subject for arrogant irony. Yes, it is a question of how in life tragic repressions were intermingled with the enthusiasm of the people building socialism. There was the one and there was the other. But when reproaching historians with still having left some things undone it would be more correct to express his attitude to that. Was there enthusiasm or not and if not, why not? What was the reason? If there was, how did it combine with the mass repressions? It is obvious to the thoughtful person that the division of history into good and bad history or the history of the leader and the masses avoids an analysis of the real processes and a profound and true understanding of our past.

The author brutally asks: Why did we build things in such a way that they must now be restructured? Putting the question this way effectively asserts that our initial path was mistaken in advance. And, indeed, he points to past alternatives for the development of socialism in the USSR. Some claim, he writes, "...that the social system, sometimes dubbed 'Stalinism,' established and realized in the USSR was the most rational and even the triumphant conclusion of the October Revolution and there was no alternative to that path. Others claim that such an historical alternative did exist and that during the twenties it was represented by powerful forces personified by N.I. Bukharin."

Although this question has already been examined with the utmost clarity in party documents published in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the author clearly has his own particular opinion on this score—which, of course, is not forbidden—and asks questions which again he does not answer and to which perhaps he has no answers. He writes: "...despite the tremendous efforts which sometimes seem simply superhuman; despite the stubborn labor of several generations of Soviet people; despite the tremendous sacrifices, socialism has still not been achieved here in the form in which it appeared to Lenin and Lenin's guard in the twenties. That is precisely why we have come to the conclusion that we need to restructure our society and that the restructuring must be revolutionary in character."

Historically the question was different: As the trailblazers of socialism, equipped with Lenin's guidelines for building socialism, we were unable and did not know how to be completely consistent, and external circumstances denied us that opportunity. That is why, the further we went, the more we deviated from Lenin's concept of socialism and consequently produced a deformed socialist society. It is that deformed society and not the path we traveled after October which we are rebuilding. We have not turned away from the path begun by the October Revolution, as Doctor of Historical Sciences Yu.N. Afanasyev thinks, otherwise there would be no socialism in the world. But, of course, we have not taken that path in the way that Lenin saw it. That is why we say that the revolution begun by October goes on, not that it is beginning.

We are not dealing with the restructuring of our past, which is alas irrevocable, much less do we repudiate it. It is a question of insuring and guaranteeing our present restructuring and consequently our socialist society against the bitter mistakes and tragic crimes of the past. That is why we need lessons of truth completely unadorned.

In the article under review the search for the causes of these deviations is in no way correlated with the real course of events or the policy of the period 1928-1929. You look in vain here for an answer to the question of how far those deviations were the result of subjectivist tyranny and how far they were dictated by objective economic reality and were the direct or indirect result of the triumph of the Bukharin and Stalin bloc during the struggle against the opposition in 1925. Clearly, the author prefers the assertion that during the twenties there existed a Bukharinist alternative which was undoubtedly more attractive. It is not his fault, of course, that he does not have the opportunity to trace the evolution of the Bukharin group's ideas in 1926-1929 and to present its real divergences at this later time from Stalin's position, which was supported then by the majority in the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) Central Committee. But because we are talking about the real alternatives existing at that time it would be no bad idea to turn to M.S. Gorbachev's description of them:

"The party proposed an unprecedented path of industrialization—to promote heavy industry immediately without counting on foreign sources of finance and without waiting for many years of savings derived from the development of light industry. This was the only possible path in those conditions even though it was an incredibly difficult path for the country and the people. This was an

innovative move in which the masses' revolutionary fervor was regarded as a component of economic growth. Industrialization in a single leap raised the country to a qualitatively new level....

"And when taking a sober look at history and taking account of all the domestic and international realities you cannot help asking: Was it possible in those circumstances to choose any course other than the one which the party proposed? If we are going to adhere to the historical approach and the truth of life there can only be one answer: No, there was not."

If a different alternative had been chosen the result would have been different.

We have already mentioned deformations. But Yu.N. Afanasyev goes even further. He writes: "The most important achievement in the development of our society is considered to be the elimination of private ownership. But has it really been eliminated? How, for example, are we to answer L. Karpinskiy, who justifies the idea that we have before us a private ownership which is fighting back in the form of the ownership of an official function, chair, or post?..." There is nothing else to do but marvel at why L. Karpinskiy and Yu.N. Afanasyev along with him consider our social ownership, including state and cooperative ownership, to be private ownership? I do not believe, for example, that the author of the article considers the Institute of Historical Archives, which he heads, to be his own property.

In his article the author asks questions about our social system's identity with "regimented socialism," about the total suppression of the individual, about the elimination of the peasantry as a class and its transformation into a form of state employees. These are serious and fundamental questions. The mere fact of asking them provides indirect answers to them. And if we summarize all this the question comes down to one thing—is (or was) the society created in our country really socialist?

The question is: Why does this article, which claims to be the program of a modern approach to historical knowledge, consciously leave that question unanswered? Is it not because the article is trying to "inculcate" these doubts and the conclusions that arise from them in the masses, and not just among historians, whereas the author has clearly left the answers to them to be provided by a "polyphony of voices." Such an approach to historical knowledge does not benefit knowledge itself or restructuring.

The article cites Marx' dictum "Doubt everything," and on that basis much of what has previously been taken as an article of faith is called into question.

There are indeed many questions which have become "articles of faith" in our society and which are now causing doubts. They must be resolved on the basis of a study of the facts, documents, and practical experience. Conjectures and highly dubious hypotheses, sometimes simple untruths and half-truths will not help the cause.

In the article, as we have aleady said, the author takes up the question of the October Revolution and criticizes it for administration by a priori, predetermined "laws." That is apparently why we built everything wrongly and must now restructure it.

Yes, certain objective laws discovered (previously) by Marxism-Leninism are at the basis of October and on the path of October. They also determined the historical conditions of socialism and the main objective laws of socialist building. And if there is a criticism to make, it is that in our historical practice we have by no means properly obeyed those laws. Sometimes we acted despite them, and were guided by a priori and voluntarist constructs.

During the time of the personality cult Stalin and his entourage were guilty of crude political errors, arbitrariness, mass repressions, and lawlessness. Our people paid a high price for them. The also had grave consequences for the life of our society.

The party has severely condemned both the cult of Stalin itself and its consequences. It has demonstrated that it is alien to the nature of socialism and is a deviation from its fundamental principles and the objective necessities of socialist building.

The party has demanded the restoration of the Leninist concept of socialism, creatively developing and enriching it to ensure the maximum scientific substantiation for the further building of socialism in accordance with the objective necessities of establishing a new socioeconomic formation in light, naturally, of modern conditions. And with the maximum activeness on the part of people and maximum application of the human factor (this needing to be stressed with particular force).

Unfortunately, Yu.N. Afanasyev's witting or unwitting attempt to "repudiate" V.I. Lenin in developing a concept of socialism causes nothing but bewilderment. The concept of socialism is constituted by a determinate aggregate of ideas. It must be expressed without fail in the form of a catechism. It stems from the totality of Lenin's works. Let us note that the image of socialism and standpoint on socialism formulated by V.I. Lenin were modified by the practice of the NEP [New Economic Policy], by the reinterpretation of old ideas about the new system. It is interesting that when "repudiating" Lenin in his concept of socialism Yu.N. Afanasyev immediately says that it is with Lenin's assistance that we must develop a modern theory of socialism.

It is quite strange to read the claim that the existence of two systems—capitalism and socialism—in our era was in no way envisaged by the classic Marxist-Leninists.

What it boils down to is: Either Lenin is being removed from classic status or it is being forgotten that we owe to him the idea of the peaceful coexistence of two systems.

Yu.F. Afanasyev is resolutely opposed to the writing of a new official history of the CPSU. But no one has yet said that an essay on the history of the party will be the sole and main book. In his jubilee report M.S. Gorbachev set a noble goal before this work, which has been assigned to a special commission of the CPSU Central Committee and which will serve as an incentive, as it were, to deeper research, the goal of resisting attempts "... to avoid the painful questions of our history, to pass them over in silence, and to pretend that nothing special happened.... We cannot agree with that. It would be to neglect the historical truth and show a lack of respect for the memory of those who were the innocent victims of lawlessness and tyranny.... An honest understanding of both our enormous achievements and our past misfortunes and a full and correct political assessment of them will provide a real moral guideline for the future."

It is possible to dwell on a whole series of other complex questions that are raised in the article in passing, as it were, or even accidentally but behind which there are no constructive ideas or desire to provide any sort of explanation. Of course, now is the time to ask questions and not a great deal of effort is required for that, but has not the deadline for waiting for answers to them expired?

Militiamen To Stand Trial for Moscow Cafe Theft

PM0707150388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6

[R. Ignatyev report: "They Will Stand Trial"]

[Text] It happened at 16, Obruchev Street, Moscow around 0200 on 2 July. Persons unknown, smashing the door of the "Kuban" Cafe, broke into the premises and took everything they could carry.

Just a few minutes later somebody reported it to the militia. An operational investigation group was instantly on the scene. The search for the criminals did not last long—they were arrested at 0600. The thieves were... Militiamen V. Shvedov, A. Valkov, A. Malov, and Yu. Morozov, who had been patrolling the very beat where the incident took place (!).

Ham, lightweight fabrics, coffee, and other products lifted from the cafe were found in the apartments of these so-called militiamen. The Japanese TV belonging to "Kuban" was also found. During the investigation it transpired that this team of security guards [vnevedomstvennaya okhrana] had previously carried out several other crimes.

The editorial bureau asked A.V. Vlasov, USSR minister of internal affairs, to comment on this extraordinary happening.

"Let me be blunt, it is a most distressing case," Aleksandr Vladimirovich said. "Unfortunately, there have been more than 10 such cases over the last 2 and ½ years. These include militiamen embezzling car parts in Michurinsk, theft by security guards at a meat combine and wine plant in Volgograd, thefts from cars in Moscow, and 'cooperation' with a group of criminals in Kharkov. There have also been cases of deliberate killings—in Chardzhou and Chita. You may get the impression that the number of crimes committed by the militia is on the increase. No, on the contrary, it is falling sharply. The only difference is that every such case is now widely publicized. We are doing major work to stop crimes. Central and local organs have set up commissions to ensure that the personnel observe socialist legality. And people who have besmirched the honor of Soviet militiamen are being severely punished under the law.

"The militiamen who robbed the Moscow cafe have been dismissed and criminal proceedings instituted against them. An extraordinary session of the Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Main Administration is being prepared to discuss this case. A public trial will be held in which community prosecutors will also take part."

Internal Affairs Minister on Law, Militia Role

LD1107092288 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1000 GMT on 9 July carries a 60-minute live program, entitled "Ostankino on the Line," presented by Boris Kodratov. Kondratov begins by saying that in this program Aleksandr Vladimirovich Vlasov, USSR minister of internal affairs, will respond to both letters sent in by and telephone calls from listeners.

Vlasov summarizes the tasks that law enforcement agencies have been assigned by the 19th all-union party conference regarding the formation of a lawful socialist state and the democratization of social control. Legality, he says, must be inviolable and civil rights protected. He then quotes a section from Gorbachev's party conference report dealing with the need for public order, the strengthening of laws, teaching respect for the law, and fighting irresponsibility and antisocial elements.

Comrade Vidon from Cherkassy asks in a letter, which he thought would not be used on the program: "Why do we have two laws: One for all citizens and another for the staff of the law enforcement agencies? When will order be introduced and arbitrary action by the militia eliminated? Why are irregular methods of conducting investigations used? These run completely counter to the films about our militia."

Vlasov responds: "I can say one thing. There is one law in our country for all citizens, including the law enforcement agencies. There is a constitution and legislation relating to crime and criminal proceedings. In short, we are all equal before the law. We call to stern account

those who use the law for their own ends—not just the staff of militia agencies, but any citizen. I turn once again to the conference. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's report stressed the importance and fundamental political role of inviolable legality as the governing foundation of democracy. In light of these views, we are seriously worried by the significant number of violations of law and abuses in militia work, and of Comrade Vidon's rights and by correctional labor institutions, as well as during investigations. A great deal has been done to ensure that laws are not broken. There is alienation among the staff. Certainly not everyone or everything is up to standard for today's level of operational and office work. Quite a few obstructions must be cleared in practice—in culture, in psychology, and in professional ethics. It is, in general, a job that will take more than a year, and listeners probably understand that. After all, for dozens of years, the psychology and the forms and methods of work by investigators and militia were determined by bias in favor of the prosecution, the ability to do as they pleased, deception, crudeness, and the degradation of human dignity. All that has deep roots."

Vlasov says these abuses must be eradicated, and the authorities are firmly resolved to take action against even the slightest infringement. Glasnost and accountability to the people were assisting this drive, but it will be a long time before the prestige of the agencies controlled by the Ministry of Internal Affairs is restored, he concludes.

Kondratov then says there have been a couple of phone calls. The first, from Petr Afanasyevich Klyukov, complains about the ineffectiveness of the militia's handling of people who are parasites on society. Duty officers refer such cases to the divisional inspectors, who in turn pass them on to public bodies. This continues until finally a crime is committed. Perestroyka must also be applied to the militia, he says.

In the second call, Olga Ovanovna Yershova, a retired lawyer, refers to a recent call, published in the magazine OGONEK, for the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs to publish its statistical data. She is specifically interested in knowing how many people are currently in prison or in any other kind of detention center; how many first-time offenders there are, and how many recidivists; who the offenders are, how old they are, what sorts of jobs they can do; and whether the number of detainees in the USSR is going up or down.

To the first question, Vlasov says the minister already has an ongoing program of perestroyka regarding staffing, training, and investigative work, "starting with the militiaman and ending with the minister." "In the very near future, we will be issuing to the localities a specific plan of action for restructuring the work of our principal units, the town rayon organs. This means giving far-reaching powers to the chief and staff of the town rayon organs in matters relating to the maintenance of public order and to the whole complex of law enforcement activity. Today we have many distortions in that area, and sometimes not even the most trivial of questions can be resolved without the minister. This is intolerable. It gets in the way. Perestroyka really is on the spot."

Vlasov adds that changes are also being made in the work of divisional inspectors, and their numbers and powers are being increased.

As for the publication of the ministry's statistics, Vlasov says that although not all figures have been released, a start was made last year, and more figures have been published in Vlasov's article in this year's issue No. 5 of KOMMUNIST. He adds that the ministry was preparing to publish all its figures.

Turning to the question of the prison population, Vlasov says: "It is with great pleasure that I tell you that the number of people detained in our country is declining sharply. The humanization of our crime policy, and aspects of the development of democracy are already in operation today and are having an effect. Last year alone, there was a 30 percent drop in the number of those detained in our localities, in correctional labor institutions. That process is now gaining momentum."

Kondratov then raises the question of the militia's contribution to the struggle for sobriety. Vlasov answers: "I would not say that we make a great contribution today to the struggle for sobriety, although quite a lot is being done."

He continues: "The fight against drunkenness, alcoholism, and home distilling still remains a very important aspect of the work of internal affairs agencies, and we keep the matter under constant review. This year, more than 3 million people have been called to criminal administrative account for violating antialcohol laws, and more than 2 million drunken citizens have been put in medical sobering-up facilities."

He adds: "For being drunk while driving, 420,000 drivers have been detained. The militia is accelerating its efforts in the fight against home distilling, speculation, and theft of alcoholic beverages. Already this year more than 270,000 instances of home distilling have been brought to light, which is nearly 3 times as many as during the same period last year."

In answer to a question, he says there were times when citizens who were only slightly drunk were arrested and even taken to court. He regarded this as an aberration, and over-zealous militiamen were reprimanded and even dismissed. He also dispelled the widespread myth that drying-out facilities had a quota to fulfill. Vlasov says the militia alone cannot solve the problem of alcoholism. Public opinion, the education system, and the health service should joint together with the militia to fight this social evil.

On another topic, Vlasov says that last year assessments of personnel based on certification had resulted in the dismissal of more than 7,000 workers in internal affairs bodies.

To a listener calling in and expressing alarm about media reports of deaths of militiamen, Vlasov replied: "There really are cases of militiamen being killed in the line of duty. I could cite the following figure: Last year 46 people died. But the important thing is not the figure. Every incident is bad morally and causes us concern. The boys are given posthumous awards. Admittedly, some people who are dissatisfied with the work by the militia, and who are even out to get the militia, say that fat-cat bureaucrats in the Ministry of Internal Affairs are to blame. This is wrong. There are many questions here, of course: professional training and protective measures that we are now working on. The mobilization preparedness of every internal affairs employee must be maintained every day; and we do have sufficient forms, methods, and resources both to protect the militiaman and to ensure that they are always in a state of combat readiness. But we also frequently have a combat situation, and in combat there are of course victims. Recently on the Vremya program there was a report from Yerevan airport. Our boys sustained casualties [postradali] there too. So we do sustain certain losses, of course; but we are now considering ways to really protect militiamen, legally and physically."

A listener asks whether militia have bullet-proof vests. Vlasov says: "They do have them, but not enough. I can tell you that in the near future, in a year or 2, we will fully provide our personnel with means of protection, the goal being to protect our personnel in critical situations and extreme conditions."

Vlasov then outlines the procedure for sending in complaints to the Ministry of Internal Affairs after a listener complains that she could not get the address of a militiaman who owed her money.

An internal affairs colonel from Leningrad, Alekseyev, called to ask about militia handling of "meetings, demonstrations and marches, some of which even occur spontaneously".

Vlasov responds: "I understand the question, Comrade Alekseyev. But I would first like to say that the Leningrad militia distinguished itself while dispersing students at a May Day demonstration, and we will be looking into that case especially closely. But your question is relevant. I think our listeners—not just those in Leningrad, but also other towns—will find this matter to be of concern to them, since lately in many towns demonstrations and meetings have taken place over various problems, such as ecology and social shortcomings.

"The years of revolutionary restructuring are giving us graphic lessons in democracy and glasnost, and one must wholly support the views contained in the report by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on the growth everywhere in the level of public activity in the exercise of constitutional freedoms and citizens rights, including the holding of meetings, marches, and demonstrations. It is democratic methods that have provided for the high level of activity by many mass actions in support of restructuring. This is characteristic of our times. But one should not turn a blind eye to the irresponsible and arrogant extremist aspirations of individuals and groups to incite actions that are of an antisocial thrust and very dangerous for the process of democratization. No pluralism of views can justify attempts to undermine the socialist foundations of our lives and to weaken and belittle the role of the Leninist party or the local soviets in the country's development.

"In a number of regions, unresolved social issues have led to a deterioration in the situation, which has even been of an international nature. It must be said that the absence of legislative regulation of the organization and holding of meetings, street marches, and demonstrations of course seriously weaken precautionary steps taken to ensure public safety. Nor is this problem solved by the temporary regulations adopted in a number of places: in Moscow and Leningrad, which Comrade Alekseyev discussed, and other regions of the country. Some of them pursue restrictive goals; they hold in check civic activity and do not prescibe the obligations or judicial accountability either of the organizers, participants, or representatives of the authorities. So there is a problem here. Taking into account the accumulated experience, foreign legal procedures, and international norms, it is evidently necessary to draw up, discuss widely, and pass legislative regulations for the exercise of the constitutional right to free assembly, meetings, and demonstrations. We think this must be a democratic procedure that all citizens understand and know, enshrined in all-union law—definitely all-union, and not Kaluga or Ryazan law, to use Lenin's phrase—that is, enshrined in a law carrying the highest legal force."

Vlasov continues: "We have prepared proposals on this, and I think we will be tackling this issue." To Kondratov's comment that the militia are "representatives of the authorities," Vlasov says: "We are now creating special subunits, and in the setup there is a subunit that handles ideological work with personnel. In other words, the militiaman today must be prepared to reply to questions and explain points when he finds himself being first to meet demonstrators or participants in a march face to face. But I would stress that everyone must work on this: public institutions, party organizations, and local soviet bodies. The militiaman can of course answer questions, but he will not be able to answer all questions. At meetings controversial issues are often raised involving problems that should be resolved on an oblast level."

The discussion then turns to crime, and specifically burglary. Vlasov says that last year there were 136,000 burglaries, and 72,000 in the first half of this year. He says: "I would not say that any trend for the better has

been noted. The number of burglaries has not yet been reduced. Nor would I say they are increasing." Vlasov adds that "only 50-60 percent" of burgalries have been solved.

A caller from Rostov-on-Don who spent about a year in a remand prison and more than 2 years in an intensified regime colony for speculating, complains about the poor conditions and overcrowding at the remand prison.

Vlasov agrees that there are "great and serious shortcomings" in the system, adding: "There really is a paradox here. A person who has not yet been sentenced by the court to a specific punishment, who is not yet a criminal because he is still being investigated, is deprived of many of the rights enjoyed by prisoners who are at strict penal colonies. This is a paradox."

Agreeing with the caller, Vlasov says that "two or three times more people are kept in a room and, to be blunt, there is overcrowding in cells where people are held in preliminary confinement." He adds: "the situation is now changing. We now have 50 percent fewer people in remand prisons. This is allowing us to work things out at remand prisons, and we will be doing so; we will be creating normal human conditions for people who find themselves in a remand prison and must be considered as temporary inmates at the remand prison for the investigation's duration. They must enjoy all civil rights, with only individual restrictions."

To a written question by former convict Sergey Mikhaylovich Shershov about why he was not allowed to return to his apartment in Moscow after completing his sentence in a labor camp, Vlasov says: "That question was asked recently at a news conference, and I gave an unequivocal answer. There are restrictions in Moscow regarding the registration of former Moscow residents leaving their places of confinement. They are no longer able to reregister and to live and work in Moscow. I think that, in conditions of the development of democracy and in today's circumstances of our way of life, this is an intolerable business. We have submitted proposals for lifting such restrictions." The matter may be settled, he adds, later this year, when consideration is to be given to new criminal legislation.

The next question is from Aleksey Yermolovich, a senior lieutenant in Minsk's criminal investigation department. He complains that the frequent reporting of misdeeds by some militiamen is tarnishing the reputation of the force as a whole, generating both personal and recruitment problems. Vlasov responds that the militia is attracting no more criticism than any other group, including "many leaders and party committees." The important thing, Vlasov says, is to respond positively and to work hard "so as to resurrect the authority of the militia and the love for the militia that existed in the thirties."

Vlasov continues: "Recently we were greatly distressed by an incident in Moscow when militia employees, or rather members of an extradepartmental protection unit [vnevedomstvennaya okhrana], burglarized a shop. This is unacceptable, of course. Behind every fact we must perceive the phenomenon so that our employees really do not contravene socialist legality."

To the written question, "What is the minister's attitude to youth groups, particularly fascist-type groups?" Vlasov says: "The same as everyone's: highly negative."

To the question: "Why does the Ministry of Internal Affairs not join Interpol?" Vlasov responds: "We are working on it."

Asked his attitude on allowing detainees access to a lawyer from the moment they are charged or from the moment of arrest, Vlasov says: "I have a positive attitude to this. It would help us to exclude violations of socialist law during investigations."

Vlasov says statistics for solved crimes now reflected cases actually brought to court, rather than those where a criminal investigation had merely been instituted.

Finally, a Khabarovsk listener asks whether the number of different regimes governing custodial sentences would be reduced. Vlasov says the new criminal law currently being drawn up to "meet contemporary demands for democratization and humanization" would "tackle" the issue.

Editorial on Post-Conference Political Reform

PM0707142188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "19th Party Conference on Political System Reform"; boldface words as published]

[Text] Alluding to historical parallels, someone said this of the 19th party conference: "Four days that shook the world." But let us leave comparisons and assessments to our descendants. Let us ask ourselves honestly and without exaltation: What have these 4 days changed in the life of the party and the people? Is there a difference between the state in which our society found itself on the eve of the conference and the one it is in now, after it?

If we cast aside details and emotions, if we renounce assessments of the words spoken and comparisons of the more and less vivid speeches, in short, if we single out the chief aspect and assess it with historical yardsticks, the difference is tremendous and fundamental. Previously, before the conference, public awareness was unanimous (or almost unanimous) in its understanding of **what** must be done: It was necessary finally to decide on the dismantling of the administrative-edict system—we realized that without this extraordinary measure equal to a revolution it was impossible to destroy the braking

mechanisms, and so restructuring too was impossible. Today, after the conference, we know how to do this, in what way, and precisely which political system to create.

Let us tell ourselves honestly: Over a very long time and too indecisively, overcoming our own fears and the dogmas which had arisen over many years, unforgivably losing time and purpose, we made our way to the essence, to the heart of the matter, not daring to admit that the political system was at the root of everything. But precisely because it was necessary to tackle fundamentals, we frightened one another with the danger of departing from socialism, despite the failures which were repeating themselves and the growing difficulties. Instead of admitting that the political system created as a result of the October victory had subsequently been subjected to serious deformations which had distorted the face of socialism, we endured Stalin's absolute power and the repression and lawlessness to which millions of people were subjected. All the good impulses in the economy and the desire to improve the people's life and meet their elementary needs ended in new failures and new promises of future successes.

We knew what we wanted. We did not know how to achieve it. Attempts to modernize the system that had been created, that is, to bring the administrative-edict methods of management to perfection, produced results that were the direct opposite of what was expected: Management structures proliferated sharply, ministries and departments multiplied, and the bureaucratic apparatus controlled literally everything, subjecting absolutely everything to its control. As a result, there was increasing diktat and regimentation in all spheres of production, of public and spiritual life... But the more tightly society was fettered by chains of detailed regimentation of economic management and the less the people participated in management, the more slowly the wheels turned, sinking deeper and deeper into the swamp of stagnation.

Having proclaimed the policy of restructuring, the party not only did not itself avoid answering extremely difficult and painful questions and not only evaluated honestly and unstintingly the path traveled but also engaged by way of democracy and glasnost society's entire intellectual potential to seek new paths. And it is naive, to say the least, to claim that, if this conference had happened earlier, at the very start of restructuring, we would be far advanced today. If we had ventured such a step, we would have been thrown back umpteen times, because a year ago not only society but also the party were not yet ready for such a formulation of the question—the radical reform of the political system.

Even now, after the stormy polemics that developed in all corners of the country for several months prior to the party conference, after the clash of opinions over every point in the Central Committee Theses, after the sharp debate in the Palace of Congresses itself, even now it is still possible to see confusion in assessments and opinions—from "too radical" to "not decisive enough," from customary delight to groundless disappointment. And this is natural, for new things have a difficult birth and enter the public awareness with equal difficulty. But the chief conclusion is obvious: Thanks to the tremendous efforts of the party and the entire people, we managed in a very short but inevitably necessary time to overcome disunity of views and mutually exclusive assessments and arrived, before the conference, at a realization of the causes of braking in the past and the present.

Let us repeat: Before the conference we already knew what must be done. Today we know when, how, and in what way: The conference formulated and adopted a program to implement the reform of the country's political system.

It was stated at the conference that the party must irrevocably abandon edict and command methods. The task has been set of clearly delimiting the functions of party and state organs in accordance with the Leninist concept of the role of the Communist Party as the political vanguard of society and the role of the Soviet state as the organization and tool of the people's power. State organs are not to be supplanted, and the trade unions, the Komsomol, other public organizations, and creative and other unions are not to be ordered around. Their policy is to be implemented through organizational, cadre, and ideological work with strictest observance of the Soviet laws and the democratic principles of public life. As though replying to possible doubts—will the party's role not be weakened here?—it was resolutely stated from the rostrum of the 19th party conference: No, no! "Remaining the ruling party, the party possesses all the necessary levers to realize its leading role. And chief among these are the 20 million Communists through whom the party pursues its political course in all spheres of the life of society."

The conference deemed it necessary to strengthen the soviets' legislative, managerial, and control functions, to submit all important questions of state, economic, and sociocultural life for their examination and resolution, and to restore the leading position of elective organs with regard to executive organs and their apparatus. It was emphasized that the party's policy—economic, social, national—must be implemented, above all, through organs of the people's representation.

There is hardly any point in reviewing the program for the country's political reorganization adopted by the conference—there is a resolution about this that indicates the main areas of activity. And so we will not speak of the new structure and role of party organs and soviets at all levels, of the system of elections, of holding more than one post simultaneously, of subordination, and so forth—each of these questions merits special discussion and analysis, particularly as the details will be amplified as we go along, and life and living practice will undoubtedly pose new problems and demand amendments.

Let us turn our attention to the decisiveness with which the party has set about realizing the conference guidelines without delay. The vigorous nature of the actions is the fundamental issue. Unfortunately, this too has entered our flesh and blood—having adopted correct decisions, we are accustomed to supposing that the thing has thereby already been done, and we are able to drag out for years what must be fitted into days and months. There can be no doubt that this time too there were many people who figured that the old structure and the old approaches would suffice for their lifetime. But the further course of events should dispel illusions where they exist: Following the main resolution on this question, the conference adopted the special resolution "On Some Urgent Measures for the Practical Implementation of the Reform of the Country's Political System." A report and election campaign will take place in party organizations this year, the party apparatus will be reorganized, draft legislative acts for the restructuring of soviet organs will be examined, and in April 1989 elections and a congress of people's deputies will be held.

Yes, restructuring is calculated for the long term. Yes, we have set ourselves revolutionary goals, and the mass of work will inevitably take time. Yes, there are questions, doubts, and vagueness. But marking time, the endless experiments into which we have been pushed this time too, and endless talk are not politics. Or, if you like, this would be a policy of stagnation in an atmosphere of glasnost. Politics is not only thought but also, above all, action, and we must accomplish the maximum possible in every historical space of time. Not delaying nor giving way in the face of anything new and difficult.

Soviet people can see that just such an approach is triumphing today. A Politburo session was held immediately after the conference at which, in addition to other urgent decisions dictated by the conference, it was deemed necessary to convene a CPSU Central Committee plenum this very month. Instructions were issued to prepare in time for the plenum proposals connected with implementing the reform of the political system and the democratization of party, state, and public life.

The decisions adopted at the conference must not be perceived separately—only the totality, the package of measures for the restructuring of society, and consistency in every area can lead to the goal. But there is an obligatory condition for all spheres of life, whether the economy, law and order, or the spiritual sphere—democratization. Only given this condition will we ensure that Soviet statehood fully accords with the concept of the state of the whole people, when all affairs in the country are decided by the people and their plenipotentiary representatives and are under their complete and effective control. Today it will no longer depend on the system but on every one of us whom we nominate for organs of party and state power, whether we will be able to uphold candidates whom we trust, and whether we learn to vote holding ourselves, above all, responsible for the results with regard to any issue— ourselves above all and chiefly, for this is what people's power means, power for each and everyone.

Historian Medvedev Views Conference Results

PM0707120788 Amsterdam DE VOLKSKRANT in Dutch 4 Jul 88 pp 1, 5

[Undated interview with Soviet historian Roy Medvedev by Hella Rottenberg and Andre Roelofs: "Medvedev Wanted More From Party Conference"; date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Roy Aleksandrovich Medvedev, the well-known Russian historian who wrote books about Stalin, Khrushchev, Western socialism, and about the phenomenon of dissidents, was stripped of his party membership in 1969, but naturally he followed last week's party conference closely. Like other nondelegates, he was unable to attend the discussions that were held behind closed doors, but during and after the 4-day conference he talked to delegates and was ready to give his assessment of the events of the last week.

[Medvedev] It was the most interesting party meeting I can remember. A revolution did not take place, nor was there any suggestion of an upheaval, but there was discussion, there were polemics, and a political battle was fought. The people of this country were always completely indifferent when a party congress took place. They stopped watching television and reading newspapers. This time it was very different.

It emerged at the conference that different currents exist within the party. The conservative or reactionaries kept their mouths shut, for they felt that there was an atmosphere in which they would be whistled down. Then there were the moderates who want reforms without glasnost and without democratization of whom Ligachev is the representative. Thirdly, there is the democratic current.

[Question] What do you think of the results of the conference?

[Medvedev] The result was a compromise. I had expected a more radical outcome—by which I mean that not only would resolutions be adopted but that organizational and personnel decisions would be made. In this respect a comparison can be drawn with the 20th party congress (in 1956, when Khrushchev delivered his de-Stalinization speech but the composition of the Central Committee remained unchanged). No plenum of the Central Committee was held before the conference, nor was one held immediately after. The fact that no organizational measures were adopted weakens the decisions reached. Gorbachev's ideas have been adopted, and that is a victory. He also increased his prestige. People figure that Gorbachev led the conference well and democratically.

[Question] What significance does the conference have for internal party life?

[Medvedev] Despite the resistance and the discord in the party apparatus, the course of openness and democratization was adopted by the conference. The press is allowed to continue delivering its criticism. It was also decided to cut the party apparatus, and the apparatus is the most conservative section of the party.

[Question] In his day Khrushchev wanted the same, but he did not succeed.

[Medvedev] Gorbachev is not as impulsive; he does not improvise as Khrushchev did. He will probably succeed; he is cautious. In one respect Gorbachev did make me think of Khrushchev. That was in connection with his proposal on the soviets and the merging of the function of party first secretary with that of chairman of the local soviet. That proposal was not contained in the theses, was hardly mentioned in advance, and was not really discussed during the conference. Gorbachev confronted the conference with a fait accompli. The conference adopted the proposal, not because it understood it or was in favor of it but because it gave the appearance of confidence in Gorbachev.

[Question] What disappointed you?

[Medvedev] The changes to the political structure, which are vague and incompletely considered. Second, the words Gorbachev devoted to the economy. He said that in the last 3 years improvements could be seen, which is inaccurate. And the mood of the delegates which, on the 1st day at least, was conservative. During the course of the meeting the mood changed, the delegates began to feel freer. On the 1st day only people whose names had been listed in advance by the organizers spoke; later the discussions were much more spontaneous.

[Question] What is your assessment of the addresses by Yeltsin and Ligachev?

[Medvedev] The behavior of both of them made an unpleasant impression on me. I found Yeltsin's proposals for reforms good, but it is strange that he asked for political rehabilitation. People who are in prison or have been expelled from the party can be rehabilitated. However, Yeltsin is a member of the Central Committee, he is a minister; his rehabilitation consists in the fact that he was given an opportunity to speak at the conference. He was able to address the delegates, outline his vision, and try to persuade them that he is right. But he should not have used the conference to settle personal scores. That was petty.

Ligachev was also petty. He tried to justify himself and spoke too personally. What I thought was most unpleasant was his veiled threat addressed to Gorbachev, when he was talking about the election of the general secretary in March 1985. He hinted to Gorbachev that he would not have been nominated without his support and that of Gromyko, Solomentsev, and Chebrikov. In his day Khrushchev had the same problem with Kaganovich, Molotov, and Malenkov.

Ligachev let himself be known to be a conservative, but a conservative who does want reforms but no democratization—reforms by decree from on high.

[Question] Why did Gorbachev consider it necessary to go into the Yeltsin question in such detail?

[Medvedev] Gorbachev wanted the Yeltsin question out of the way. So many rumors and stories circulated about the affair, there were riots in Sverdlovsk, there were demonstrations by young people in Moscow, there was unrest at the university. That is why Gorbachev wanted to show that the party had not acted unjustly toward Yeltsin. "Yeltsin himself tendered his resignation," Gorbachev said, "I will read from the transcript of the Central Committee session."

The question was not on the agenda but Gorbachev wanted to get it out of the way. Many people have said that Yeltsin was a good friend of Gorbachev, and his supporter. I have always said that this was untrue. Yeltsin was a Ligachev man, he is a political friend of Ligachev. Ligachev has confirmed that he recommended him. It is a different matter that Yeltsin went far too far, but he is an authoritarian man; he pursued a ruthless policy and under his control the economic situation in Moscow deteriorated. He arrested masses of people who worked in trade, behaved crassly toward colleagues—in short, he behaved like a dictator in Moscow. He abolished all sorts of privileges—including those that are necessary. For example, he banned the head of the public transport department from traveling in his own official car. The man deserved to travel by bus and metro as long as the public transport problem in Moscow remained unsolved. Many of Yeltsin's actions were unrealistic. In Sverdlovsk he was used to being the boss; in Moscow he was lost, because Moscow has several bosses.

At the time Gorbachev's reputation suffered some damage, because he had not permitted any openness about the course of events at the Central Committee October session and had not made public the speech that Yeltsin made there. That is why he now decided to let Yeltsin speak and to let him say what he liked. And then let Ligachev answer him, he thought. Ligachev also maneuvered himself into a difficult position, for his behavior left a decidedly bad impression. Gorbachev behaved like an arbitrator and as a result his standing has increased. He succeeded, I think, in getting rid of a political conflict that was a difficulty for him. Many people have called me up and said that they felt sorry for Yeltsin, but no one said that they agreed with him. It is not a very good thing for a politician if people feel sorry for you. You don't get to be the leader of a country because the people feel sorry for you.

[Question] Do you see a historical analogy in the presidential system as proposed by Gorbachev?

[Medvedev] There is no analogy to be found in Soviet history. Nor does it resemble a Western system, for as far as I am able to understand it the president will be elected for a year. Gorbachev did not explain his ideas very clearly. Things will be worked out in the fall during the session of the Supreme Soviet, when a new Constitution must be drawn up.

[Question] Is Gorbachev harking back to Marx and Lenin with his new structures?

[Medvedev] Lenin saw the combination of the executive and legislative functions in the soviets as an advantage and a strong side of Soviet power. Gorbachev wants to separate the two. Gorbachev is acting on the basis of his own understanding of the situation, and not as Lenin and Marx saw things. Slogans such as "All power to the soviets" and "The revolution continues" are pure propaganda. A state with its own structure, bureaucracy, and traditions has been formed, and these have nothing in common with 1917.

Gorbachev wants a certain independence from the Central Committee; he wants his own mandate, the mandate of the whole people.

[Question] How will the Soviet Union look in 5 years?

[Medvedev] That is difficult to say. Many more decisions could be made, and many could also be reversed. I am of the opinion that the conference has not yet made perestroyka irreversible. The conservative forces are still very strong. The reforms will still go ahead, I think, but more slowly, and with important compromises. Gorbachev still does not have a second echelon of power. As soon as he is away—in the United States, in Yugoslavia, or on vacation—the atmosphere in Moscow changes as Ligachev takes over leadership of the Politburo.

[Question] What is Gorbachev's personal position?

[Medvedev] His prestige has certainly increased. He had the sympathy of the delegates. He, not Ligachev—to say nothing of the other figures in the Politburo—was the central personality of the conference. The conference gave Gorbachev a mandate to lead the party. But a change in the balance of power has still not taken place. I would have liked to have seen some members of the Politburo sent into retirement—perhaps this will happen soon, I do not know.

[Question] Does not the strengthening of Gorbachev's personal power maybe also have its risks?

[Medvedev] Not at the moment. He showed himself to be a democratic leader, he let everyone speak, he showed no annoyance. I dare not say what he will be like in 5 years. Power corrupts. He could lose touch with reality. At the conference he said a few things that did not tally, such as his statement that real wages would be increased. He naturally wants the situation to improve and says that in his 3 years material improvements have shown themselves. In reality nothing has improved materially. People are dissatisfied. Many things are still rationed, prices have risen, there are shortages. Perhaps the inclination to embellish results will grow stronger. Every leader wants to embellish his own rule.

Flooding Damage Reported Throughout Country

Kirghizia Mountain Regions

LD0607091788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0615 GMT 6 Jul 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Summary] Reports are coming in of destructive floods in the mountain regions of Kirghizia. The river Karabalta has flooded shepherds' camps, roads, bridges, power lines, and hydraulic systems. The floods, four times the norm for this time of year, have disrupted traffic on the major Frunze-Dzhambul-Tashkent and Fruzne-Osh roads. Temporary crossings have had to be erected and the river banks have had to be reinforced with the aid of army resources and civil defense units.

Heavy thaws of snow in the mountains and torrential rain on the Kirghiz mountain range have sharply increased the pressure in other rivers, too. Many houses have been flooded in the village of Grigoryevka, by Issyk-Kul lake, and the Kyzyl-Oy settlement, Dzhumgalskiy Rayon, has been cut off. Special measures have been taken for the resettlement of people and the evacuation of pioneers' camps on the river Kokomeren. The weather situation remains unstable. July is the time when the glaciers melt, and so more floods are expected. [video shows rushing rivers, broken telegraph lines, clearing work, work on river banks, temporary bridges, flooded areas]

Damage in Chita Oblast

LD0607162288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 6 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Heavy rainstorms in Chita Oblast have caused an unprecedented rise of the water level in rivers. Forty-five bridges of varying length have been destroyed, 160 km of roads have been damaged, and over 50 homes in 20 villages have been flooded.

Chernyshevskiy Rayon was the worst hit. Communications have been cut off with almost all its villages. Two people have been killed in an accident caused by the the breakup of the road. The oblast's economy has suffered considerable damage. According to preliminary figures,

it amounts to about R6 million. Oblast and rayon emergency commissions are taking all measures to fight the elements and eliminate the consequences of them.

Over 1,200 people have been evacuated from the flooded areas. All have been given temporary accommodation, food, and medical help. All available machinery has been brought in. Trains have been sent to the affected rayons with various goods. The situation remains grave. The rise in the river levels although halted, is still not falling, and remains at a critical level. [video shows flooded village scenes, tractor and helicopter in flooded field, fast-flowing river, train crossing bridge over fast-flowing river almost up to the level of the bridge]

Krasnodar Kray Flooding

PM0807094588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

[Report by correspondent K. Aksenov: "Is Nature Alone To Blame?"]

[Text] Krasnodar Kray—I am standing with Dinskiy party raykom Secretary N. Tantsura on the dam partitioning off the small steppe river Ponura. The previous night Nikolay Grigoryevich had been obliged to drive here following an alarm call. The mighty currents of the flood threatened to surge through the simple reinforcement and destroy the oil pipeline that passes here. People had to be roused in the middle of darkness and the natural disaster had to be tamed.

The oil pipeline was successfully saved although it is not hard to imagine the kind of tragedy that might have occurred if people had not hurried to it promptly. After all, the river flows into the estuary of the ancient Sea of Azov. But did man emerge everywhere as the winner in the skirmish against the elements?

"Unfortunately we were powerless against the flood," the raykom secretary admits bitterly. "The water is flooding the fields, population centers, and stockraising units. As of today losses have exceeded R30 million..."

Throughout the kray as a whole the loss is more substantial—about R600. But it is not even a matter of money. You cannot look without anguish and sympathy at the fertile Kuban fields deceptively golden with ripe barley and wheat. When you come closer the grain is in water almost up to the ears. The sugar beet and sunflower, vegetable and alfalfa crops, orchards and vegetable gardens will die. According to the krayispolkom figures, over 100,000 hectares of crops have died and over 300,000 have been flooded. A grave blow has been dealt to the cities, settlements, and villages. Some 27,000 houses have been flooded, about 1,000 peasant houses, mainly built of adobe, have been reduced to a dangerous state and some have collapsed. A total of 250 families have had to be evacuated from the zones of the calamity. The victims have been provided with housing and given aid.

Great damage has been caused to the kray's economy. In Krasnodar, in the farms near the city, and in Dinskiy, Kurganinskiy, Kalininskiy, and other rayons, the flood descended on industrial enterprises, stockraising units, and fertilizer stores. The raging elements destroyed dams, bridges, and roads. But here is the notable thing: There is neither panic nor confusion in the emergency situation. People have joined in the fight against the elements. The threshing of the grain crops is proceeding in an organized manner under the difficult conditions.

Yes, the situation in the Kuban is tense. In many rayons the rainfall lasted for days and the precipitation over a short period was several times greater than normal.

Nonetheless some people call the present flooding "manmade." In other words, it was people themselves who created it. What is the "secret?"

"The reorganization of nature on which billions of rubles have been spent in recent years," specialists assert, "has deprived flood waters of their natural outlet. Many steppe rivers, even the mighty Kuban, have been regulated and partitioned off by dams and other obstacles. There only has to be rain for flooding to begin..."

I visited Novovelichkovskaya settlement, for instance, and saw houses submerged almost to their roofs. The river Ponura is raging. V. Shvetsov, chairman of the local "Put k Kommunizmu" kolkhoz and a local inhabitant, knows the history of the neighborhood well. He showed me immediately five dams partitioning off the flow. They were installed for seemingly good reasons: retaining water for irrigation. And they serve at the same time as unique bridges for driving from one shore to the other. But the trouble is that when they were constructed no one found time to estimate the volume of water during a possible flood. And the flood cannot pass through three pipes. The water level rises rapidly and it inundates everything around. And only now that the losses are counted in millions have they decided to dig up the ill-gotten dams and let the surplus water through.

During the installation of reservoirs, irrigation systems, roads, and dams, many errors and miscalculations are allowed which cost the kray dear and are one reason for the flooding. All that is so. But who is responsible?

It is worth noting that last year's flood was the precursor of the present calamity. The rapid thawing of snow in the mountains at the time brought enormous torrents down into the Kuban. At that period the Krasnodar reservoir continued to accumulate a stock of water—on the offchance. Meanwhile flooding began in the upper reaches: It broke through the dam in Kurganinsk and the flow struck residential areas. The bridge in Labinsk collapsed and people died. Then they hurriedly decided to sharply increase the outflow from the reservoir. The lower reaches began to be flooded. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes suffered damage. But the kray organs interpreted

these extraordinary occurrences as caprices of nature which seemingly could not be avoided. At any rate no steps have been taken this year to accomodate the large amount of water.

PRAVDA Describes Moscow Vagrancy Problem

PM2806091188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 88 First Edition p 6

[Ye. Isakova article under the rubric "Contemporary Issues": "Wish to Change Places"]

[Text] There are phenomena around us which we tried not to notice before. Tramps and beggars, for example. Who are they? Where, how, and on what do they live? Let us take a look at this world which is unknown to us.

Moscow—They rang persistently at the apartment door. A woman with a child was on the doorstep. Dressed unpretentiously but in seasonable clothes.

"We lost all our things in a fire. We have come to Moscow—for assistance. We don't have any money for the journey back, we live in poverty. Help, for God's sake," she rattles off the "tale" she has learned by heart. "Give me anything you have: Clothes, shoes, food, kopeks, anything you don't want."

I felt sorry for her and her child. And for some reason I shyly hurried to find things and get some money. But the woman was already ringing a neighbor's doorbell.

Half an hour later I noticed from the balcony that the "fire victims" were gathering not far from the house, about 10-15 people. The women give the men the money (they did not go round the apartments) and sorted out the clothes and provisions which they had collected. They were shoving some of them into knapsacks and rucksacks, and they threw the rest in garbage containers.

I do not intend to assess the daily earnings of this gypsy group, but one can work out the "earnings" of those who beg on the trains. For example, the earnings of a "blind" person nicknamed "Jesus" who is well known among the tramps. Passengers who travel in the direction of Kursk and Kazan immediately recognize him: his black beard and kersey boots. Viktor Selyanin had spent his entire life—and he is about 50 years old—on trains. He collects about R1 in each carriage. He goes through a train in half an hour.

I have never personally succeeded in meeting "Jesus." When he saw the preliminary detention center workers from the No. 1 Moscow Gorispolkom City Internal Affairs Administration with whom I was on duty at Kazan Station, he grabbed his stick and, forgetting his "blindness," ran off. But "Jesus" panicked for nothing. Nothing but a document check was in store for him. His were in order: His passport shows that he has a permit to live in the Moscow area—so how can he be a tramp...

I had occasion to take part in a night raid on blocks located around the capital's rail terminals. And on almost every block we stumbled over people illegally spending the night in basements and in attics. In some places even using old furniture thrown out by the residents.

And one more raid. This time on a city dump. There is a real industry in sorting through the garbage. The drivers of garbage trucks "hire" tramps and they collect rags and paper for a pittance for recycling, bread for people who keep animals, and old clothes and utensils for themselves. But the main income is from bottles.

Besides those who live and eat around dumps and rail terminals, there is one more category of tramps, exclusively urban. These people get their subsistence at vegetable depots.

"You can always take away fruit and vegetables for yourself and to sell," some people told me who had been taken to the preliminary detention center for the purpose of establishing their identity. "You can always collect bottles for vodka or eau de cologne."

"Where do you spend the night?" I was interested to know. "There are few residential blocks in the city's industrial zones where the vegetable depots are located."

The question remained unanswered—they do not tell you where they spend the night. Once again we had to go to the militia for assistance. We set off for the waste land near the Kuntsevo and Kiyevskaya vegetable bases with men of the Moscow militia 42d Division who had detained and taken my interlocutors to a preliminary detention center. This is where the ducting from the central heating plant passes and where one can enter via numerous manholes. Most of the manholes are open. Inside it is warm, even hot. When we went down the steps into one of these manholes, we noticed a "bed" and the remains of food—mainly vegetables and empty bottles. Either the "owner" had still not returned, or he was one of those who had been detained and who was now "resting" in a preliminary detention center.

What should the militia do with a tramp who has been detained? If his passport is not stamped with a Moscow residence permit, there is a rule that he should be removed from the capital. If the tramp has no permit, and is unwilling to leave Moscow, then he should be put on trial for breaching the passport system, but for many it is not their first trial, so they are not intimidated by the threat of prison. A fine? Can you really fine a tramp?...

What can be done about the tramps? Can we really pretend that they do not exist?